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NEW TIMES

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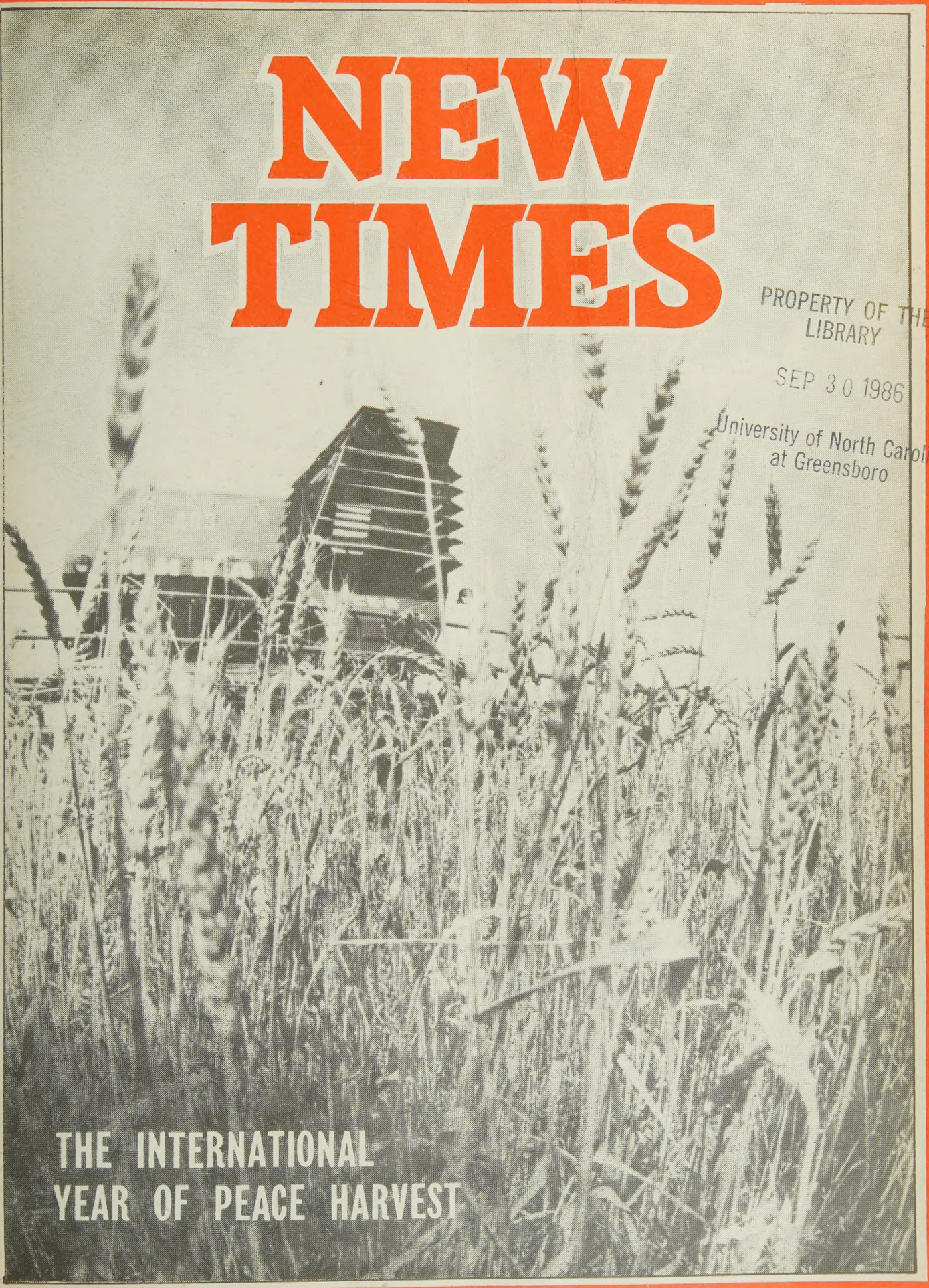

THE INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE HARVEST

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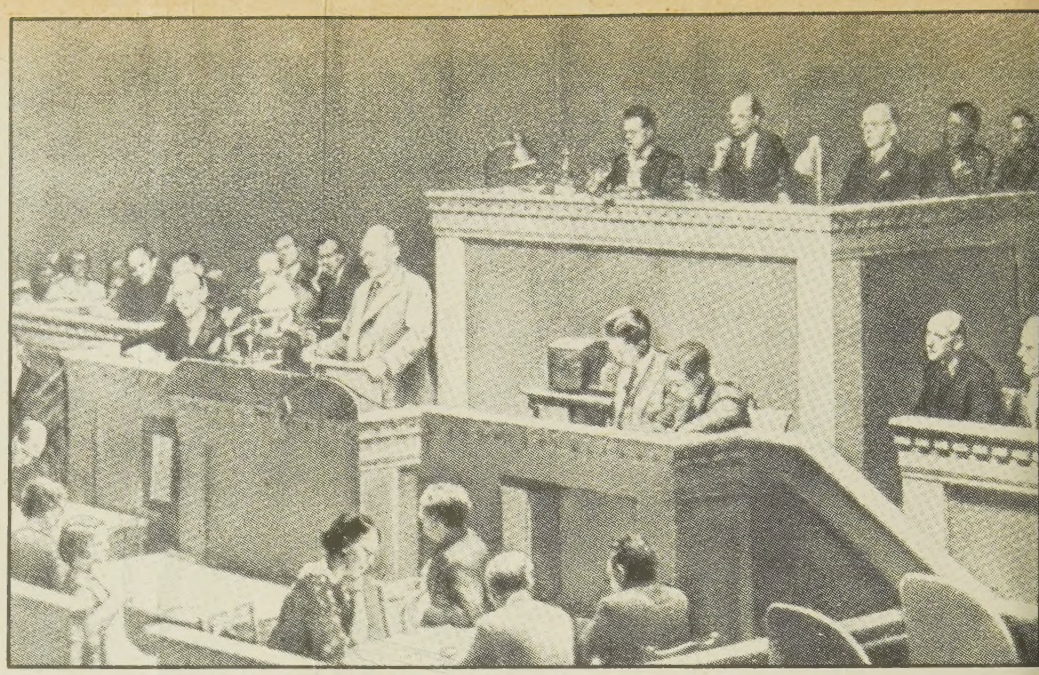
1986-INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE



Maxim Litvinov, the Soviet representative, addressing a session of the League of Nations. 1934.

By the mid-1920s, the economic blockade of the Land of Soviets was broken, the plans to isolate Red Moscow fell through. The state flag of our country waved over the Soviet embassies in most European capitals, in Asia and Latin America. Friendly relations with the countries of the East whose peoples had been awakened by the October Revolution—Afghanistan and China, Iran, Mongolia and Turkey—grew stronger. Lenin's concept of peaceful coexistence exerted a growing influence on international intercourse.

To exclude wars from the life of society, an idea nurtured by generations of Marxists, became state policy in the Soviet Union. Its cornerstones were and remain disarmament, collective security capable of staying the hand of those who would settle dispute by force of arms; effective aid to victims of aggression, mutually beneficial cooperation as a material basis of peaceful coexistence.

The sage Leninist aphorism "Disarmament is the ideal of socialism" has acquired particular relevance in our time. At the very first international conference with the participation of the Soviet Union—the Genoa conference held in the spring of 1922—our delegation placed on the negotiating table a proposal for the universal reduction of armaments. At a disarmament conference held in Moscow at the end of the same year the Soviet government submitted a detailed plan for the reduction of the armed forces by three fourths and subsequently unilaterally reduced the numerical strength of its own armed forces by close to 90 per cent.

The Soviet proposals were invariably based on the principle of unconditional equality and equal security. But how could any such negotiations get off the ground when, figuratively speaking, the bourgeois tigers saw the purpose of disarmament in tearing out the eagles' beaks, while the eagles were trying to blunt the teeth of the tigers? The only thing common to both was the overriding desire to disarm the Land of Soviets they all hated.

Meanwhile the dark clouds of a new war on the horizon thickened. Italy and Japan took to arms, and a "brown plague" swept Germany.

Anxious to halt the fatal course of events, the Central Committee of our Party adopted in 1933 a decision to intensify the struggle for a system of collective security in Europe. In the autumn of 1934 the Soviet Union joined the League of Nations with a view to giving effect to the principle that "peace is indivisible." In 1935 it signed mutual assistance treaties with France and Czechoslovakia.

But all the efforts of our state to avert war came up against the resistance of the "western democracies" which still hoped to turn the spearhead of Hitler's aggression against the U.S.S.R.

Signing of the Franco-Soviet Treaty of Mutual Assistance. Paris, 1935.

For earlier instalments of this brief review of the history of anti-war ideas and the struggle for peace see our issues Nos. 1, 4, 6, 12, 14, 17, 21, 24, 28, 30, 33.

Mikhail Gorbachev's Answers to Questions from the Czechoslovak newspaper Rude Pravo

Q. Your statement on the extension of the unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions till January 1, 1987, has evoked a very wide response and, as it seems to us in Czechoslovakia, has had a considerable impact on the alignment of social, and political forces in the sphere of disarmament.

How do you assess the reasons for that and the possible consequences of this major new Soviet Union peace move?

A. The answer to the first part of the question seems evident. Not long ago far fewer people knew about the Soviet moratorium. Now political leaders and the mass media in the West are finding it more and more difficult to play down the unilateral 18-month moratorium, and the U.S. arguments in favour of testing have lost much of their appeal, and have ceased to impress the public. This is what I wanted to say first. And secondly, the awareness of the reality of the nuclear threat is growing throughout the world. It can be averted only by eliminating (and this is what we propose) nuclear weapons, and terminating nuclear tests by way of a first step. This is as clear as day. Even people obsessed with the arms race cannot in their hearts fail to understand this.

Our socialist friends, the Communist parties, the Harare conference of the non-aligned movement in which dozens of countries have taken part, the leaders of the Delhi Six, numerous public organizations and trade unions, leading political parties including the West German Social Democrats and the British Labour Party, people prominent in science and culture the world over have supported the Soviet moratorium and called upon the U.S. to follow the example of the U.S.S.R. On the whole, it can be said that it is easier to list those who did not support our action than those who did.

These words of support—and we greatly appreciate them—confirm that a new mode of political thinking is forcing its way through old prejudices, obsolete ideas, and accumulated fabrications about the "Soviet threat."

Insofar as American statistics make it possible to judge, the idea of ending nuclear testing is supported by both public opinion in the U.S. and a substantial part of Congress.

It short, the realization has never before been so widespread that a nuclear war must never be fought and cannot be won, no matter what ingenious military scenarios are drawn up.

In addition to this there is another factor: the policy of the United States is beginning to cause increasing anxiety; astounding manifestations of the militarist line have opened many eyes, and alarm at the prospect of a catastrophe that could indeed occur can no longer be concealed.

The response evoked by the Soviet Union's termination of nuclear explosions is also certainly due to the fact that it is not a declaration, but an action. We have now extended the moratorium for the fourth time. A year without explosions is both a political and a military reality. The tendency towards reason and common sense is now actually present in world politics, and it can be developed and augmented by an agreement on the mutual prohibition of nuclear testing, as well as by other bold and forceful steps, and the resolution of issues on which action has long been overdue.

Is it not, for example, important for the destiny of Europe and indeed the world, to crown the work of the Stockholm Conference with a substantial agreement? That this is so is indisputable. And for its part, the Soviet Union, with Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries, is taking practical measures to ensure that this comes about. There is a possibility—of which I have already spoken—of reaching agreement on the prohibition of chemical weapons and the elimination of the facilities that produce them.

Rational compromises are possible where strategic arms, medium-range nuclear missiles, and conventional armaments are concerned, if one really strives to lower the level of military confrontation and achieve equal security. It is possible to reach agreement on strengthening the regime of such a fundamental document as the ABM Treaty.

But we have to see things as they are. It would seem that the number of possibilities is growing, and yet there has been no turn for the better.

The reaction in the ruling circles of the United States to our statement is indicative in this respect. It has revealed from the outset that at least those in the entourage of the President, whose spokesmen did not this time even bother to conceal their irritation, are not thinking in earnest about eliminating the nuclear threat. This is precisely why the extension of the moratorium caused such displeasure there. It is clear that the new Soviet proposals made these circles uneasy. It has evidently become very difficult to justify their stand in the eyes of both the international community and the American public.

Once again the old line was adopted in a bid to play down the significance of our move—it was branded "propaganda." But it is appropriate to ask here: if this is propaganda, then what is it designed to prove, what are we trying to say? That it is possible to do without nuclear explosions? That we back up our call to rid mankind of nuclear weapons by stopping their testing? What is so bad about such "propaganda"?

As to the charge of propaganda that is being levelled at us, I have already said more than once: it is not at all a serious response to attempt to put our well thought-out political actions on such a plane. It is not a proper approach in such a strained situation, even, one may say, at this turning point in world developments.

It is not a propaganda war that we seek to win. We do not even want to participate in such a "contest," believing it to be unworthy of the importance of the issue. Our aim is to take a real step towards real disarmament. And we sincerely invite the U.S. Administration to join us in this. We want to make progress in negotiations so as to push back the nuclear threat for the sake of the security of all and genuine détente.

There really is no dearth of speculation in the White House entourage, political circles and the press as to how our moratorium can be presented for propaganda purposes. Sometimes the impression is that the U.S.A. is disposed in general to replace foreign policy with propaganda. How then can there be a businesslike dialogue with promise of success?! We reject this style and believe that the matters we are discussing are too serious to be played around with. And we are eager to hope that, in the long run, the United States will understand us and give an adequate and appropriate response to our call.

If one is to speak of the "seriousness" they appealed to us to show when we once again extended our moratorium, I should like to say that the attitude to the termination of nuclear tests, to the early elaboration of a treaty on their full prohibition has now become the most reliable touchstone of how seriously each of the greatest nuclear powers treats disarmament, international security and the cause of peace.

I have already said, in my August 18 Statement, that the attitude to nuclear explosions is a test of historical maturity. This is my firm conviction.

Moreover, it is a touchstone of the true aim and content of the foreign policy of a nuclear state.

This is certainly the case.

If one wants military superiority, one has no use for a moratorium.

If one wants to continue the arms race, and particularly to transfer it to new areas, to outer space, one has no use for a moratorium.

If one wants to have new, more sophisticated weapons, one has no use at all for a moratorium.

If in resolving international problems one relies on force and intends to resort to diktat and blackmail, then a moratorium is a hindrance as well.

If one is afraid of honestly competing with a different social system in terms of economic achievements, democracy, culture and human intellectual potential, a moratorium is obviously unsuitable.

If one does not care what happens to nature and the human environment, one will continue to carry out nuclear tests.

If the greedy appetites of the tycoons of the arms business and all those associated with it are considered more important than the opinion and vital interests of millions upon millions of people all over the world—one continues nuclear tests.

In other words, the attitude to the moratorium lays bare the true essence and aims of one's policy. There is no getting away from this fact.

But if there really is a desire to start reducing nuclear arms and then do away with them altogether, as both the President himself and some members of his Administration have more than once officially and solemnly declared, if there exists a real understanding that a nuclear war is inadmissible, if it is true that the United States is not seeking military superiority, then there can be no insuperable impediments to an equitable and strictly verifiable agreement.

This is why we believe that the ball is not in the Russians' court, as the glib White House heralds claim, but in that of the Americans.

The question, however, is even larger and more fundamental than the attitude to the moratorium; although, let me repeat, attempts to evade this crucially important problem of disarmament, diluting it with other issues, belittling it or skirting round it, are characteristic enough.

If one pieces the Administration's post-Geneva policies together, the resulting picture is alarming. There have been crash SDI efforts, tests of the ASAT anti-satellite system and other actions undercutting the ABM Treaty, as well as trials of a new intercontinental ballistic missile, new aircraft and submarines, statements on abandoning the SALT-2 Treaty at a time when they expect to hold a second summit meeting with us, fantastic requests for the next military budget, appropriations for binary weapons, bandit-style, strong-arm neoglobalist action against Libya and Nicaragua, in the South of Africa and elsewhere, the forming of new naval strike forces, and military manoeuvres near the Soviet Union—from the North Sea and the Baltic region to the Far East—unprecedented since the 1950s for the amount of hardware involved. Marshal Akhromeyev put it aptly when he said at the Stockholm conference: "Just imagine what would happen if such manoeuvres were mounted by the Warsaw Treaty countries."

How should we perceive defiant shows of military strength? Should we see them as demonstrating a commitment to peace and a desire for mutual understanding or, perhaps, as preparing the atmosphere for a summit meeting?

In and around the White House, however, they say bluntly that this is all necessary to force the Russians to make more concessions. Such is the degree of responsibility of those for whom the arms race is a gold mine, as well as being, incidentally, an index of their understanding of who they are dealing with.

These military-political practices suggest a very serious conclusion: they want to legalize the arms race, and these are in effect the material and psychological preparations for a world war. People are naturally beginning to ask themselves: What is happening? Does this all mean that America is going to war? If this is so, then the logic of the Administration's actions becomes clear.

One involuntarily recalls the 1960s when an extremely reactionary group arrogantly laid claim to the White House. At the time, however, America itself stopped that group. Other people came to power and the opportunity was offered to hold back the escalation of the cold war and later, in the 1970s, to halt it altogether. Treaties were concluded, some of which are in effect to this day.

But what do we see now? Military buildup programmes are again being set in motion, but this time they entail a much greater risk of a world war because they are being launched at a new scientific and technological stage in the arms race and in the presence of much larger arsenals of weapons capable of wiping out civilization in a matter of days.

This is why the task of our two countries, and all the forces of peace is to stop this race becoming irreversible.

The American people now also shoulder a much graver, I would say special, responsibility for where developments in the world lead. This is something to which they must give due consideration.

I want to believe in the reason, realism and also in the basic sense of self-preservation of the American people. Our two peoples ought to cooperate rather than to quarrel, to be friends, not combatants. I call for this once again.

I know, Comrade Horeni, that in your country, Czechoslovakia, in my country and in other lands, the following question is also frequently asked: Doesn't the policy of an unbridled arms race show a desire to undermine the U.S.S.R. and the socialist community as a whole economically? How is one to evaluate, in particular, both official statements and allegations in the mass media to the effect that the economic problems and difficulties that exist in the U.S.S.R. will compel it, if further pressure is applied, to agree to unilateral concessions?

We do have economic problems and difficulties. We have discussed them openly and continue to do so. There are quite a few problems and difficulties in other countries too, especially those which have only recently taken the path of independent development. But are there no difficulties in the West, in the United States itself? There are, and, moreover, they are growing at a menacing rate; extremely acute problems are piling up; the state debt has reached an astronomical figure; unemployment, already enormous, is now beginning to acquire threatening dimensions once again; and social contradictions are intensifying.

As for our own economic concerns, we would like to cope with them as quickly and efficiently as possible. This is why we would welcome any opportunity to switch our funds and resources from defence to the civilian industries, to improving the people's living standards. But we will never sacrifice our security interests and will never agree to concessions at security's expense, nor would we consider doing so at talks. The Soviet people themselves would not allow us to do so.

We see full well the attempt to undermine the U.S.S.R. and world socialism economically through the arms race. And we will do everything to foil these scurrilous plans. We shall be acting in several fields at once, diplomatic, military, political and—yes—propaganda, but first and foremost in the economic field, by making our economy more efficient, quickening acceleration, and streamlining management.

In this respect, high-quality labour on the part of the Soviet people and the working people of all socialist community is also a contribution to the cause of peace. If we falter, the pressure from socialism's enemies grows. But as we grow stronger economically, socially and politically, the capitalist world's interest in a normal relationship with us grows as well, and illusions that the clock of history can be turned back are dispelled.

Q. Comments on your statement have included assertions that neither the unilateral moratorium nor even a bilateral agreement with the United States on the issue will be of any practical help in solving the problem of nuclear disarmament. Is this so?

A. I cannot agree with this.

They are really trying to present the moratorium as something to be opposed to arms reduction and even to prove that it prevents the disarmament process from being started. The following opinion is also prevalent in some quarters and in the press: nuclear weapons are an "evil" but an "inevitable evil" because they make for restraint and, this being so, need tests for reliability, that is explosions.

All this is nonsense, if not an attempt to mislead people.

As long ago as last January, we suggested starting jointly to "uproot the evil itself," by scrapping all nuclear weapons by the end of the century. This is, of course, a formidable task. But we propose going about it stage by stage, and, with due regard for all the difficulties involved, are setting aside 15 years to do the job. We envisage parallel efforts to destroy chemical weapons and make radical cuts in conventional arms, and are providing, along with disarmament, for progress in the political, economic and humanitarian fields of international relations.

Attempts to counter the issue of ending nuclear blasts with the issue of reducing nuclear weapons are unscrupulous for another reason too. These attempts are breeding the illusion that the two powers "almost" agreed on radical cuts in nuclear weapons but the U.S.S.R. bungled everything with its moratorium. But this is not at all true. Since the Geneva meeting, we have not moved as much as an inch closer to an arms reduction agreement, despite all the U.S.S.R.'s efforts.

A mutual halt to nuclear explosions, however, would be a great help in reaching agreement on this score because an end to testing would effectively stop the race in the most dangerous area, the development of new kinds of nuclear weapons and their upgrading. Then all that would remain would be to cope with the quantitative aspect of the arms race, which is simpler.

Our stand, therefore, is as follows—the termination of nuclear explosions is organically linked with nuclear arms reduction and would very tangibly assist the attainment of that goal. To say nothing of the political aspect of the matter. Distrust, fear and suspicion, you will agree, have a pernicious effect on the international climate. There is also the moral aspect. To continue tests means squandering forces and funds in an evil cause, whereas the need to spend them on good, humanitarian undertakings is already enormous and continues to grow.

Q. It is said that Soviet nuclear weapons are "simpler and need no tests for reliability," while American weapons "are more sophisticated and, hence, should be constantly tested for efficiency."

Another story is in circulation to the effect that before announcing the moratorium in 1985 the Soviet Union had modernized its nuclear arsenal, gaining a large advantage over America in that field, and can now permit itself to take a break in testing, while the United States is only "catching up," and that that is why it is conducting tests.

Where is the truth here?

A. There is no truth here at all. All these allegations are false from beginning to end.

Experts prove very convincingly that nuclear explosions are not needed to be sure that existing nuclear weapons are reliable. Other methods not requiring nuclear blasts can be used to control reliability just as effectively, much more safely and with far less expenditure to boot.

Long-standing practice shows that one can be sure of nuclear arms without conducting explosions, limiting oneself to checks of the non-nuclear components of bombs and warheads. Since 1974 the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. have not been conducting tests with a yield of over 150 kilotons in compliance with the existing treaty. Meanwhile, munitions with yields over that "threshold" make up 70 per cent of the nuclear arsenal in the U.S.A., and our percentage is no smaller. This means that we both believe in the reliability of weapons without explosions! So why the muddy waters?

If the Americans have doubts about the stability of their nuclear arsenal, let them agree to the drafting of an agreement on ending tests, and our experts will share with them the "secrets" of how the state of nuclear arms is checked without explosions.

No. The main aim of nuclear weapon tests conducted by the United States is to develop fundamentally new types of arms. What does this mean? This means that new nuclear warheads, with both enhanced yields and high accuracy, are on the drawing board. Space-based nuclear weapons—nuclear pumped X-ray lasers—are being developed in the course of testing. Work is under way to prepare an entirely new type of weapon capable of hitting targets both on Earth and in space. In such conditions it is hypocritical to say that the termination of tests will do nothing for the solution of the problem of nuclear disarmament.

As to the second argument, it could have sounded at least somewhat credible in the first couple of months of our moratorium. But not now, when silence reigns at Soviet nuclear test ranges for the second year. If the development of new and modernization of existing nuclear weapons require ever newer nuclear tests—and this is indeed so—then it is only logical to assume that the U.S.A., which has conducted many more blasts than the U.S.S.R., plus 18 more during our year-old moratorium, should be far ahead. It transpires therefore that it is we, not the U.S., who have to catch up. In short, the very way the question is put is absurd.

We also know of another view: isn't it possible, as regards tests, to be satisfied for a time with a compromise between the Soviet and American positions. That is, not a complete ban, but some sort of "regulation."

Of course, when proposing an agreement to the other side, one cannot reject compromises out of hand. But the idea of "regulation" instead of termination seems to me to be incorrect in principle.

First of all there is already a certain amount of regulation now: the 1963 Treaty and the so-called "threshold" agreements of 1974 and 1976. But they failed to stop the arms race. As a matter of fact it has become even more intense; but not, of course, because these treaties exist.

The same is possible with the proposed "regulation" of underground nuclear tests. The greater likelihood is that it would lead to a situation whereby the race will simply go in a different direction, and then it will become clear that the new departure is even more dangerous.

There can be no half-and-half solution to the problem of nuclear tests. There is one honest way to formulate the question—it is either to work towards an agreement not to test nuclear arms and to put an end to testing once and for all, or to give the go-ahead to even more dangerous military preparations. There is no other alternative.

Should the Americans succeed in drawing the world into a space arms race, whatever terms are used to designate such weapons—"defensive" or otherwise, this would most certainly lead to the greatest destabilization of the whole of the military-strategic situation. The threat to mankind would acquire entirely new and deadly dimensions. Nobody has a right to turn a blind eye to that.

Q. And again, just as was the case with all the other Soviet initiatives, President Reagan's entourage and the spokesmen for some other NATO governments are trying to divert attention from the fundamental problem raised by you—the process of nuclear disarmament—by resorting to a variety of speculations about control and verification.

How do you assess such an approach?

A. Exactly as you said—as an attempt to divert attention. They seek to prolong the life of the bankrupt argument that a nuclear test ban is impossible to verify. It was chiefly advances in science that took the bottom out of the argument. It is now possible to detect any, even the smallest, nuclear explosion by national means. To help resolve the problem, the Soviet Union, nevertheless, agreed to other methods of control. The Delhi Six offered its services—and we agreed. The United States remained silent. Scientists agreed on the installation of seismographs and other equipment near nuclear test ranges in the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.—we also backed that initiative, though the American government treated it scornfully.

Not so long ago I received a group of prominent scientists—specialists in this field from the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., West European countries and Japan—and had an in-depth discussion with them, and I was convinced once again that they had no doubts at all as to the feasibility of implementing the most reliable control over a ban on nuclear tests.

This is how things look so far: the United States did not express readiness to get down to disarmament and is speaking of control over armaments, not control over disarmament.

Our comrades in the military and I have repeatedly said: we know what the Americans are doing and what is happening at their nuclear and other test ranges. And their attempts to conceal certain things, including some of their explosions (among them yet another conducted a week ago) convince us once again that one cannot take them at their word. We really have no grounds at all to trust American generals and we cannot count on trust on their part. Therefore we stand for strict, scientifically substantiated control and will insist on it, including on-site inspection. But, I repeat, not over the explosions but over the termination of explosions.

American instruments have already been installed near the Soviet nuclear test range in the Semipalatinsk region. We believe that the accord between scientists could be developed into an official agreement to see to it mutually that a possible agreement on the termination of nuclear explosions would not be violated. We could also consider establishing an international, supra-national network of control over the termination of tests. I avail myself of the opportunity to make this proposal to the U.S. President. The problem is quite solvable at this end. In Washington they are trying to present it as a nut that can't be cracked and this argument is easy to explain: the United States is not ready to give up the arms race and is therefore bluffing.

The U.S. needs nuclear explosions, I repeat, not to restrain (there is nobody to be restrained: nobody is going to attack the U.S.A.) but to develop weapons to be used in a nuclear war.

Q. And my last question, Comrade Gorbachev, a sensitive one, if you will permit it. Going by numerous statements made by the entourage of the President of the United States, and judging by the Western press, the goal is now to draw the attention of the world community to your new meeting with Mr Reagan, in fact to replace topical problems of curbing the arms race with talk about a meeting.

What can you say about this?

A. We are in favour of a Soviet-American summit, a summit that would bring about a significant advance in solving at least one or two of the substantial problems of international security.

After the Geneva meeting we took many steps to bring our stands on a wide range of problems related to ending the arms race closer to one another. The "all or nothing" approach is alien to us. There is no sense in holding a meeting for the sake of "nothing." Maybe this would suit some people, but certainly not us.

The questions lying at the core of the matter affect all countries, the entire international community, though the measure of responsibility accruing to the Soviet Union and the United States is, understandably, particularly great. Therefore, no matter how much we are provoked, we do not break the threads of contact with the U.S. Administration, nor do we call into question their usefulness or slam the door (though certain persons in the West and especially in the entourage of the President of the U.S.A. would like this very much). But contacts are valuable not in themselves, but for the results they produce.

We expect that the meeting to be held shortly by Eduard Shevardnadze with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz will help show where we now stand and whether the Soviet-American dialogue stands a chance of progressing further.

If one proceeds from the view that a moratorium is unacceptable, if the question of medium-range missiles in Europe is blocked, if strategic arms are to be upgraded and so on, then what is there to agree on? A summit meeting would hardly be of any use in the atmosphere of a feverish arms race, spiralling tensions and the existing treaties being abandoned. Nothing would be easier than to use the meeting to mislead people, lulling the public with pretences that everything is all right while continuing with a dangerous policy. Indeed, attempts are already being made to do this by presenting matters in such a way as to suggest that preparation for the meeting is in full swing.

By feigning optimism to create the impression that everything is almost ready for the meeting, attempts are, it is possible, being made to blame the Soviet Union for the results of a destructive U.S. policy. The same ends are, perhaps, being pursued by another version, i. e., that the U.S.S.R. has supposedly come to the conclusion that they won't get anywhere with the Reagan Administration.

But we attach too much importance to the time factor to simply decide to stand still for two and a half years. No, it would be an unpardonable mistake to tarry, to adopt a policy of wait-and-see. We shall continue to use every opportunity to achieve a productive dialogue, to make progress towards arms limitation and reduction, settle regional conflicts, and develop international cooperation in all important matters. In this sense, our conscience before the Soviet people and the other nations is clear. Our Czechoslovak friends and countries of the socialist community understand us well and give us firm and consistent support.

I should like particularly to emphasize that we set great store by the opinion of our allies and take scrupulous account of it, and are determined to continue improving the mechanism and methods of consultation, and joint elaboration of the foreign policy of socialism. We greatly appreciate the political initiatives of our allies and friends, their intensive effort to promote the new political mentality, their vigorous and equal participation in the common effort to solve problems of peace, security, and disarmament.

I do not deem it possible to remain silent about another aspect of the matter, connected as it is with the prospects for a summit meeting. There are a great many conjectures about my confidential correspondence with the President of the United States. I do not want to reveal its contents, but I am bound to say something about the conjectures. They are characterized by feigned optimism and the hint of a promotion drive.

At the end of July we received another letter from the President of the U.S.A., ostensibly as an answer to our initiatives. I know that this letter is presented in the West as something new in Washington's stand, that "leaks" advantageous to the Administration are arranged with regard to the letter, that the idea is being conveyed that everything now depends on Moscow. We shall, certainly, give our answer to the President.

I studied the President's letter through and through and, figuratively speaking, placed it under a microscope and looked at it through a telescope. I shall not be more specific, for we have agreed that our correspondence is confidential. I understand, however, the wish of people to know what there is in that confidential correspondence. For it concerns everyone on the planet. If they could read both letters, compare the significance of each of them in unravelling the main knots on the road to disarmament, they would see with what seriousness and responsibility the Soviet leadership approaches the problems of preventing war, and in what a concrete and businesslike way, with due consideration for the interests of the other side, we formulate our proposals.

They would also see that we are far from losing hope. They would see that we believe in the power of reason and mankind's sense of self-preservation.

By our actions and initiatives we are striving to strengthen the hope of the nations that the situation can be altered, that there is an acceptable alternative to confrontation. I believe we have already entered the second phase of a global anti-nuclear process, the phase that is not only that of hopes, but also of realistic plans and concrete actions stemming from them. As a Communist, I believe in the strength of the masses who are mastering the new way of thinking that leads out of the crisis situation.

The time for adopting joint and responsible, even if compromise, decisions is the most valuable thing we still have. But it is quickly running out. The age of nuclear weapons is, it seems, the most fleeting of all ages in world history. What is badly needed now are concrete actions. I would like to call for them in concluding this interview.

On behalf of the CPSU, and all Soviet citizens, I convey every good wishes to the fraternal Czechoslovak people.

(Pravda, September 9)

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

НОВОЕ ВРЕМЯ · TEMPS NOUVEAUX · NOWE CZASY · TIEMPOS NUEVOS · NEUE ZEIT · nová doba · TEMPI NUOVI · TEMPOS NOVOS

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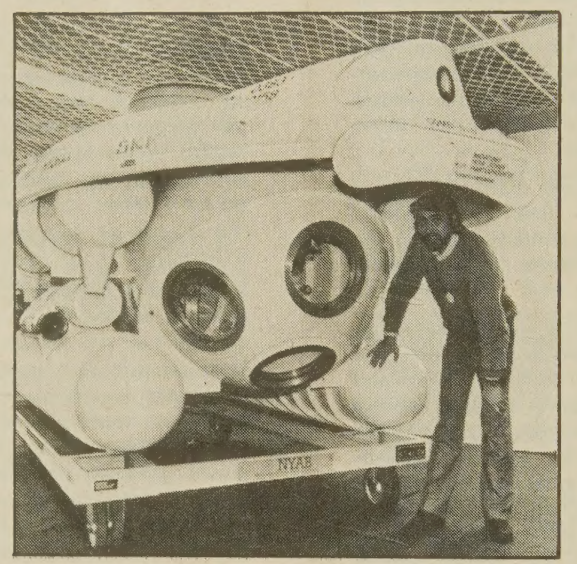
The harvesting of grain crops is being completed on the boundless fields of the Soviet Union. This year it has been given added stimulus by far-reaching changes brought about by the restructuring of the entire agro-industrial complex.

See p. 12

Photo by V. Krokhin



TENSIONS IN AN OASIS OF CALM

Sweden is often called an oasis of calm in the unstable capitalist world. But this is a superficial appraisal to say the least. Inevitable changes in the economic and social spheres are shaking what seem to be solid foundations and making for unpredictable prospects.

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THROUGH THE AGENCY OF THE CONTRAS

For seven years Washington has been waging covert war against Nicaragua with the help of the contras. However, after the U.S. Congress voted $100 million for arming these hirelings the war has come to be spoken of openly. Plans for the bombing and even the capture of Managua are being drawn up at Pentagon bases. New Times names the American organizers of aggression and also the groups

of the contras involved in it on the spot.

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THE SDPG AFTER ITS CONGRESS

The Social Democratic Party of Germany held its congress in late August. What problems hold the attention of the West German Social Democrats? What will be their strategy in the January general election?

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The Message of the Harare Summit

For seven days, over September 1-7, the dove of peace, the symbol of the 8th conference of heads of state and government of the non-aligned countries, dominated the scene in Harare. The conference brought together in the Zimbabwe capital the representatives of 99 developing countries and two national liberation movements, who discussed the most pressing problems of the time.

"Our world," Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, who was elected chairman of the movement for the next three years, said at the opening ceremony, "is faced with many challenges: the quest for economic development, for human rights, for justice and for human dignity. But all these are predicated on the assumption of the continued existence of human life. The one question therefore that today precedes all others, in that without an answer to it answers to all other questions become pointless, is the question of disarmament."

The political declaration adopted by the conference stresses that it would be a dangerous delusion to assume that world peace can be safeguarded through nuclear deterrence, the buildup and further sophistication of nuclear arsenals. To think so is to be dominated by outdated notions. The total abolition of all types of mass destruction weapons and prevention of an arms race in outer space is the only way to peace in the present situation, the declaration states.

Many of the speakers pointed out that the first step towards nuclear disarmament is the termination of nuclear tests. In this connection they gave a high appraisal of Mikhail Gorbachev's statement on the prolongation of the unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions until January 1 next year.

"I am very happy," Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India told your correspondent, "that the Soviet Union prolonged its moratorium on nuclear explosions in response to the appeal of the Delhi Six. We are waiting for a similar move on the part of the other nuclear powers."

A similar appraisal of the Soviet moratorium and a call to follow the example of the U.S.S.R. is contained also in the political declaration.

It was underscored in the course of the discussion that the worsening year after year of the economic situation in the developing countries is one of the pernicious consequences of the arms buildup imposed on mankind by imperialism.

"Since the second world war," Fidel Castro said, "$17 trillion had been devoted to military spending, or many times that which would have been needed to bring all the Third World countries out of underdevelopment."

The Soviet Union has repeatedly proposed reducing the military budgets of the permanent members of the Security Council and using part of the funds thus economized to render assistance to the developing countries. However, as was pointed out by participants in the Harare Conference, the Western countries stubbornly obstruct the adoption of a relevant decision in the United Nations. Washington and its allies are involving more and more countries in the arms race.

The developing countries now spend on armaments six times more than on education and twice as much as on public health and promotion of agriculture. Without firing a shot, the guns, tanks and aircraft they buy kill 40,000 children daily through starvation and disease in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In a special declaration on the situation in southern Africa the conference went on record that the main cause of the explosive situation in the region is the existence of the apartheid regime. Participants in the conference demanded the immediate imposition of obligatory comprehensive sanctions on South Africa and criticized the United States for continuing to maintain ties with the racists in the framework of the "constructive engagement" policy.

The conference called for solidarity with Nicaragua and all-round assistance to that country in the struggle to uphold its national independence. The political declaration also contains a demand for the return to Mauritius of the Chagos Archipelago, including Diego Garcia Island, where a big U.S. military base has been set up.

When the 7th non-aligned conference in Delhi completed its deliberations three years ago, the U.S. State Department issued a statement characterizing the political declaration adopted by that conference as being in many respects a one-sided and polemical document. Washington deplored the fact that the declaration criticized U.S. actions on the international scene eleven times and contained no criticism of the Soviet Union.

This time too, no sooner had the conference begun its deliberations than the State Department hastened to qualify the work of the Harare forum and the documents it discussed as "a litany of arbitrary and unfounded charges against U.S. foreign policy."

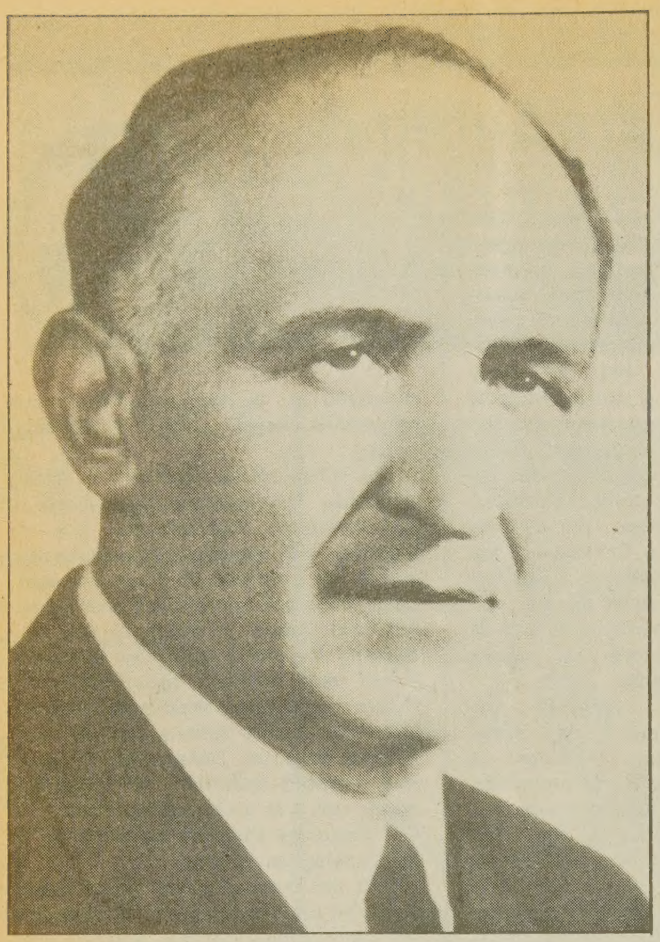
The White House reaction is understandable. The political declaration of the conference mentions the U.S. in anything but complimentary terms not eleven but more than 25 times, and again contains no criticism of the Soviet Union. But what reason is there to wax indignant? The fact is that in the three and a half years between the Delhi and Harare conferences Washington repeatedly took hostile actions against non-aligned countries. Defenceless Grenada was trampled underfoot. An unprovoked air raid was made against Libya. The U.S. Congress allocated $100 million to the Nicaraguan contras.

It is not surprising that the attempts made by some delegations to propound the dubious theory of the "equidistance" of the non-aligned countries from the two leading world powers were unsuccessful. The opinion voiced as far back as 1981 by Indira Gandhi that what matters is not how often the non-aligned countries side with the Soviet Union, but that the Soviet Union supports the struggle of the peoples of Asia and Africa for their independence was repeated in one or another form by many of the speakers at the Harare forum. Wide positive response was evoked by Mikhail Gorbachev's message of greeting to Robert Mugabe which emphasized that promotion of friendship and cooperation with the non-aligned countries will always be one of the most important aspects of Soviet foreign policy.

Of course, not everything went smoothly in Harare. There were disputes, at times rather sharp, and mutual recriminations. This was understandable: the movement takes in a wide range of very different countries, from absolute monarchies to socialist republics. But, like previous forums, the present conference once again convincingly demonstrated the unity of the movement on what is most important—its firm resolve to carry on the fight for a peaceful future for all humanity, for the political and economic liberation of mankind.

S. BORISOV
and V. KUNIN

Harare, September



Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, is 75.

Todor Zhivkov is an outstanding leader of the international communist and workers' movement. His life has been an example of selfless service to the Bulgarian Communist Party and dedicated struggle for the triumph of the ideals of socialism. The policy of accelerating the social and economic development of Bulgaria is associated with the multiform activity of Todor Zhivkov and the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress held in April of this year.

Soviet Communists, all Soviet people pay due tribute to Todor Zhivkov's personal contribution to the strengthening of Soviet-Bulgarian friendship and the deepening of cooperation in all spheres between our parties and countries, to his indefatigable efforts to further cement the unity of the socialist community, to the strengthening of the positions of world socialism and to the struggle against the threat of war and for the preservation of world peace.

The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet congratulated Todor Zhivkov on the occasion of his 75th birthday and awarded him the Order of the October Revolution, wishing him good health, much vigour and further major successes in his work for the benefit of the Bulgarian people, in the name of peace and socialism.

JAPAN

20 Million Signatures

● REPORT FROM TOKYO

Signatures are being collected in Tokyo to the appeal "For a Total Ban on and Elimination of Nuclear Weapons." Activists of the All-Japan Council for the Prohibition of Atomic and Hydrogen Weapons approach passers-by with the text of the appeal and ask them to stop for a moment while they explain the purport of the message. It is not long; it takes no more than a minute to read.

Before signing it, a serious-looking young man read it aloud: "Forty years have passed since the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the end of the second world war.

"In spite of the intense desire of the A-bomb survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the people of all the world that such tragedies must never be repeated, nuclear weapons over one million times more destructive than the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs are now stockpiled, the result of the on-going nuclear arms race.

"The use of nuclear weapons will destroy the whole human race and civilization. It is therefore illegal, immoral and a crime against the human community.

"Humans must not coexist with nuclear arms." Before reading further, the young man took the proferred pen and in neat hieroglyphs wrote his name and address.

Having procured another signature, a pretty girl approached me shyly and proceeded to explain the importance of conducting an anti-nuclear campaign on a world scale. When I showed her my card she told me I was first Soviet person she had ever met.

"The Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests has been in force for a whole year," she said. "We are grateful to Moscow, we hope that the moratorium will continue to remain in force. After all, sooner or later those who with every new test are impelling all of us ever closer to the brink of the abyss must surely begin to be conscience stricken. To hasten the day when nuclear testing will finally end, when nuclear weapons will be banned please sign our appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki."

I read the text from where the young man who had preceded me left off. "With effective activities for the prevention of nuclear war now developing throughout the world, the elimination of nuclear weapons, as a common international task, has become most urgent and crucial for the very survival of the whole of humanity.

"Along with the survivors and on behalf of those who died and cannot now speak for themselves we appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki:

"There must never be another Hiroshima anywhere on earth.

"There must never be another Nagasaki anywhere on earth.

"Now is the time to call for the complete prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons. Let us work together urgently to achieve a total ban on the use, testing, research, development, production, deployment and stockpiling of nuclear weapons."

I signed it. I saw many people willingly stopped, read it and added their names to those already there. I came across these signature collectors of different ages everywhere—at the entrance to the Shinzuku station noted for its huge crowds, before the gates of the U.S. Air Force base at Yokota, in the shop-

ping centres of Osaka, beside the fire-blackened statues of Christ and the Virgin Mary outside the Catholic Church of Urakami in Nagasaki.

Each person asked to sign the appeal had to be persuaded of the importance of the document and given if only a brief idea of the danger hanging over Japan and the whole world. Every signature quickens or intensifies the "nuclear allergy" which those who show hospitality to American bombers, battleships

and nuclear-carrying aircraft carriers are trying hard to extirpate. Every signature is also a personal obligation to join in the fight for a world without mass destruction weapons. More than 20 million signatures have already been collected in Japan with its population of 120 million. In other countries tens of thousands of peace champions —trade union and political leaders, scientists and writers, workers and students, sportsmen, artists and journalists— have signed it. Yet little more than 18 months have passed since February 1985 when the appeal "For a Total Ban on and Elimination of Nuclear Weapons" was adopted by the participants of the meeting in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Y. TAVROVSKY
our own correspondent

Tokyo

U.S.A.

An Ugly Provocation

● **THE BACKGROUND**

On September 2 the guest performances of the famous Moiseyev Folk Dance Ensemble opened in the Metropolitan Opera in New York. The first dance had barely started when a tear-gas bomb exploded in the hall. More than 30 people in the audience were affected. The concert was suspended. However, the next night the Soviet dancers, warmly supported by the public, resumed their performance.

On the evening of the ugly terrorist sally the local police received a telephone call informing them that it had been perpetrated by members of the Jewish Defence League. As a matter of fact, they need not have phoned. Everyone, the U.S. authorities included, knew who was to blame.

For several days before the performances began, Zionist rowdies had been picketing the theatre, shouting threats against the artists. Moreover, representatives of the league had been given an opportunity to repeat these threats on television and they spoke of their intention to interfere with the tour.

Immediately after the explosion one of the league's leaders, Haim Ben Josef, had the audacity to hold a sort of press conference right on the street. He said the bomb had been exploded by a member of their Brooklyn group and that they proposed in general to continue along the same lines. In a word, no one attempted or intended to hide anything; they do their dirty work openly. The Jewish Defence League, a terrorist organization of militant Zionists, was founded in 1968 by Rabbi Meir Kahane, who subsequently went to Israel, where he even became a member of the Knesset. Now this racist strong-arm man is openly campaigning for the expulsion of the Arabs from their homeland. Meanwhile in the U.S. members of the league constantly harass Soviet institutions and Soviet people there. It was they who attempted to set fire to the Soviet U.N. mission, who carried out brigand raids on the offices of Aeroflot, and engineered provocations against diplomats. They have also organized raids on the diplomatic representatives of Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and Egypt at the United Nations. They twice attempted to blow up the premises where the U.N. Security Council was discussing the Palestine problem.

The new "national director of the league" Irv Rubin, who was recommended for the post by Kahane, declared recently: "In the past we have been guilty of presumptuousness and dilettantism: we set fire to Soviet diplomats' cars and each time at once claimed responsibility for such actions. These actions did not make much of an impression, they only involved complaints and arrests. But now we are wiser." How much "wiser" they have become may be judged if only by this operation: last winter before the Dynamo versus Boston Bruins hockey match began in Boston a bomb planted in the stadium by the Zionists was defused. Had the explosion not been prevented, dozens if not hundreds of people could have been killed.

The bandits operate so openly and with such impunity in a country which, according to statistics, has one of the biggest law enforcement agencies in the world. What makes them so blind to the actions of the Zionist hooligans?

Simple human contacts between citizens of the Soviet Union and the United States have markedly increased of late. Two great nations even in the present tense world situation are searching for ways to mutual understanding. The Zionist anti-Soviet provocations are evidently inspired by those reactionary forces which fear like the plague détente and the building of bridges of mutual understanding between our peoples. The fact that none of those who took part in the latest provocation at the Metropolitan Opera were called to account is surely evidence of this.

D. ZGERSKY

MIDDLE EAST

Mission That Failed

● **AFTER THE FACT**

The United States' U.N. Ambassador Vernon Walters has completed his West European tour which took him to eight capitals—Madrid, Lisbon, Rome, Brussels, The Hague, Paris, Bonn and London. The tour was initially wrapped in deep secrecy in order to impart added weight to his mission. Nevertheless, he had barely packed his bags when every newspaper of any importance had informed its leaders that the purpose of the tour was to persuade the United States' NATO partners of the need to tighten political and economic sanctions against Libya.

The U.S. press, citing White House and CIA sources (more leaks!), carried "reliable" information to the effect that the leader of the Libyan revolution Muammar al-Gaddafi was preparing terrorist acts against the Americans and their allies. The West European media, however, were already inclined to take a sceptical view of Walters' mission. Many political figures, too, made no secret of their doubts that the former CIA deputy director could produce any proof of Gaddafi's terrorist intentions.

Even Margaret Thatcher, whom Walters visited in the spring to obtain her consent to the use of British territory as a base for the U.S. bombing raid on Libya, announced in advance that she did not intend to interrupt her scheduled trip to Scotland. Nor could the attitude in other West European capitals to the American visitor be called cordial.

For instance, the French Libération observed that "he evidently did not persuade either Madrid or Brussels and is hardly likely to achieve better results" in Paris. Libération took the opportunity to mention that Vernon Walters "in 40 years of fruitful, loyal and highly specific service under five U.S. Presidents put together no small collection of secrets in practically all the countries of our planet" and after retiring from the CIA had published an autobiography entitled "Silent Missions."

The prediction of Libération came true. Walters failed to achieve his purpose in Paris or in any other West European capital. According to Libération, a French public organization has filed a suit against this American "Rambo" to compel him to explain the reasons for his appearance in Paris.

Having been rebuffed in all eight capitals, Walters decided to put a good face on a bad business. After meeting the British Foreign Secretary, he told the press that he had set out on the trip not in order to present any demands, but simply to consult with the allies about the situation in the Mediterranean and on combating terrorism and the methods to be used. Later, after once again levelling threats at Libya, he said his visit to London, like the rest of his tour, had been highly successful.

It is indicative that the U.S. mass media lost interest in the Washington special envoy's trip as soon as it was clear that his mission was doomed to fail. True, they perked up again when the news came about the attempt to hijack a U.S. plane in Karachi, which they very much wanted to ascribe to some mythical "Libyan terrorist organization." The provocation, however, was promptly exposed by the Libyan news agency JANA.

Nevertheless, the Walters mission should not be underestimated even though it failed. Washington was not able to induce its allies to start an economic war against Libya, to sever all ties with it. (Gaddafi had said that Libya's trade with the EEC countries will run to $9 billion this year, while economic cooperation in the form of development projects is estimated at $12 billion.) Washington's offensive on the "Libyan front" is closely linked with other actions in the Middle East, in particular, with its efforts to revive the Camp David compact. As is known, Libya, Syria and other Arab countries are strongly opposed to the American-Israeli plans. This explains why at almost the same time as Walters set out on his tour, U.S. Under-Secretary of State Robert Murphy left for the Middle East on another "important" mission. True, unlike Walters' tour, Murphy's trip to the region, undertaken to prepare for a visit there by Secretary of State George Shultz himself, was played down. Observers tie up the projected visit with the new U.S. offensive against the fundamental interests of the Arabs. As for the Arab peoples, they are fully aware of how important it is for them to remain on their guard and not lose sight of Washington's manoeuvres in and outside the region.

E. KORSHUNOV

KOREAN PENINSULA

Needed: Dialogue

● **THE PYONGYANG CONFERENCE**

At first glance it would seem that there is nothing comparable between the international conference for a nuclear-free, peaceful Korean peninsula held in the capital of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the entry into the South Korean port of Pusan of the U.S. nuclear aircraft carrier Carl Vinson. Actually, however, the two events exemplify two diametrically opposed modes of thinking—the new, consonant with the spirit and imperatives of our nuclear age, and the old, outdated thinking in terms of the epoch of colonial conquests.

The participants in the conference which ended in Pyongyang the other day—more than 120 delegations from 78 countries and the representatives of 29 international organizations—voiced the conviction that for the peace forces of the world there is no task more important and urgent today than the prevention of a nuclear holocaust, the removal of the seats of tension. The envoys of all the continents expressed grave concern over the insatiable appetites of imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism. On the other hand, a positive appraisal was given of Soviet foreign policy which accords with the vital interests of the entire international community.

In his speech in Vladivostok, Mikhail Gorbachev set forth a consistent programme of action directed at preventing the Asian and Pacific region from becoming an arena of war preparations and bringing it actively into the process of building a comprehensive system of international security.

During his meeting with the participants in the conference Kim Il Sung said that Democratic Korea actively supports the Soviet Union's peace initiatives. The leader of the D.P.R.K. stressed that the proposals of the CPSU and the Soviet government for the prohibition of nuclear tests, reduction of nuclear armaments, preventing the militarization of outer space, the total abolition of nuclear weapons by the end of the century, and extending the moratorium on all nuclear explosions until January 1 next year are conclusive evidence that the U.S.S.R. approaches the problems relating to the safeguarding of world peace with a sense of responsibility.

The Workers' Party of Korea and the government of the D.P.R.K. are exerting every effort to scale down the military confrontation between the North and South of Korea (the latest of a wide range of D.P.R.K.'s initiatives and concrete actions is its decision to withdraw from the demilitarized zone more than 150,000 troops of the Korean People's Army and to use them in peaceful construction), and to make the Korean peninsula a zone of peace free of nuclear weapons.

The head of the Soviet delegation, Zaure Kadyrova, gave a high appraisal of the peace policy pursued by the Workers' Party and government of the D.P.R.K. and their efforts to reduce tension on the Korean peninsula. Many of the participants in the conference voiced solidarity with the struggle waged by the Korean people for the peaceful unification of the country on a democratic basis. In particular, a delegate from China said that the P.R.C.

consistently stands for the withdrawal of U.S. troops and armaments from South Korea. The hope was voiced that the dialogue between North and South be continued and that D.P.R.K.'s proposal for tri-lateral negotiations with the participation of Pyongyang, Seoul and Washington will find an active response on the part of the sides concerned.

V. GODYNA

BRITAIN

The TUC Annual Conference

● **OUR COMMENT**

The 118th annual conference of the British Trades Union Congress has completed its deliberations in the seaside resort of Brighton. The more than 1,000 delegates sent by the ten million British workers united in the unions and representatives of the leadership of the Labour Party discussed the economic and social policy of the trade unions and topical international problems.

The conference took place at a rather difficult time for Britain's working people. The Tory government, using anti-union legislation as a club, is continuing its offensive against the rights of the trade unions. The economic situation is worsening, and unemployment is increasing. Inside the labour movement, too, not everything is going smoothly. Sharp criticism was levelled at the TUC leadership for its inability to stand up for the interests of the printers' union in its conflict with press magnate Rupert Murdoch who not long ago laid off more than 5,000 workers. The printers' union called a strike, but the electricians' and plumbers' union came to the publisher's rescue and replaced the strikers with its members.

Speakers noted that in order to change the country's political and economic course, the unions must coordinate their actions more closely with the leadership of the Labour Party, with a view to securing its entry into government at the next general election.

The resolutions adopted at the conference include a joint plan for the TUC and the Labour Party leadership envisaging the introduction of a minimum wage act in the event of Labour coming to power. In the opinion of the local press, such a law would guarantee a reasonable livelihood for the lowest-paid categories of workers.

The conference adopted a resolution demanding the abolition of the anti-union legislation introduced by Tory government and measures to protect national industry against foreign competition.

The last day of the conference was devoted to discussion of international problems. The TUC demands the withdrawal of the U.S. cruise missiles from the country and discontinuation of work on the Trident nuclear missile system. Protest was voiced against Britain's participation in Reagan's "star wars" programme. The fight to halt and reverse the arms buildup must be the top priority task of the unions, said a delegate of the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs. The Soviet initiatives open the possibility of ridding the world of nuclear weapons, she said. If we want to give real support to those who are fighting for peace and disarmament, we must back the Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests.

E. ANDRIANOV

TERRORISM

More Bloodshed

● **RECORD OF VIOLENCE**

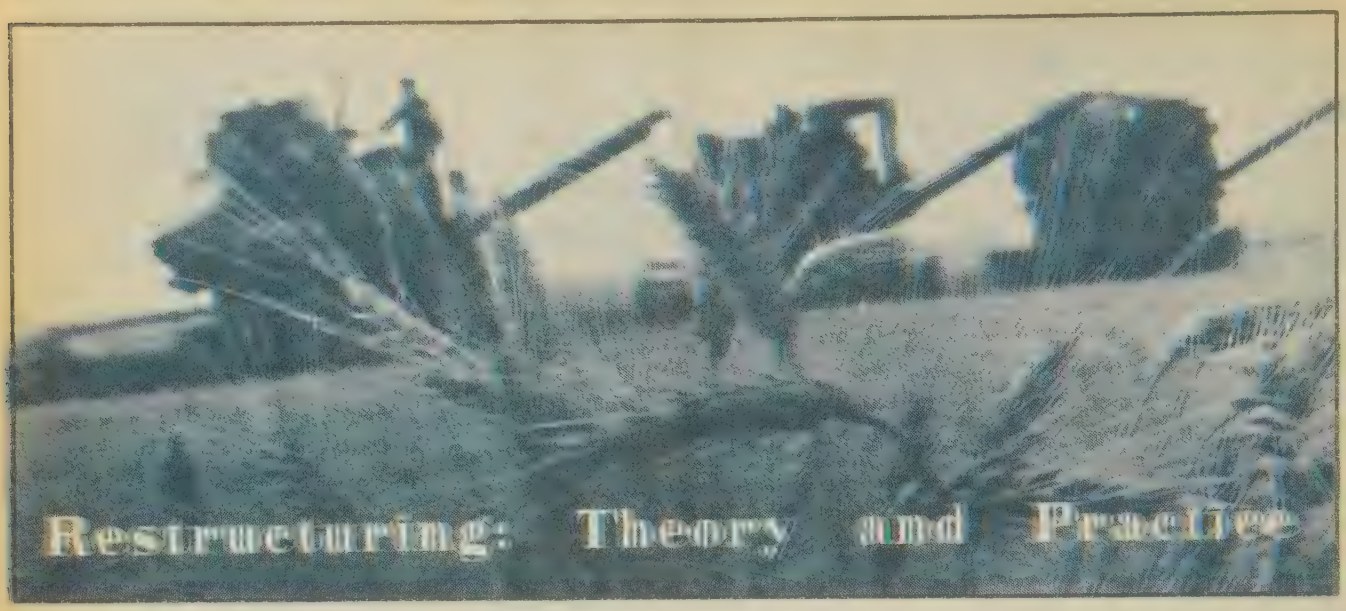
The world has witnessed two more monstrous outrages. On September 5 a group of terrorists attempted to hijack a Pan-American Boeing 747 airliner on a flight from Bombay to New York with several stopovers. It carried some 400 passengers, chiefly Indians, Pakistanis and Americans. The hijacking, however, did not come off. When the terrorists broke into the plane firing submachine guns, the pilots managed to escape through the emergency exit. Negotiating with the Pakistani authorities, the hijackers demanded to be taken to Nicosia, Cyprus. The talks were cut short when the generator supplying current to the plane's lighting system and radio transmitters went out of commission. In the resulting darkness the terrorists opened sporadic fire. At that point Pakistani soldiers rushed in and in the ensuing exchange of fire 17 persons were killed and many more wounded. The four terrorists were arrested. They said they had intended to secure the release of their "friends" imprisoned in Nicosia. Two unknown Middle East organizations claimed responsibility for the operation.

Literally the very next day, September 6, an outrage was perpetrated in Turkey. Two gunmen broke into a synagogue in Istanbul and opened fire at the worshippers. The criminals used hand grenades and died themselves in the explosions. Altogether 22 persons were killed. Responsibility for this monstrous crime was claimed by three little-known organizations, one of which stated that the action was in revenge for the deaths of "our people" who had been killed by Israeli soldiers in southern Lebanon. PLO representatives in Turkey resolutely denied having anything to do with the attack on the synagogue. They declared that the PLO is strongly opposed to actions of this kind which serve the interests of the Zionists and not the Palestinian cause.

The provocative character of both terrorist acts is only too obvious. The Libyan JANA agency, referring to the hijacking attempt, said the responsibility for that crime lies with the U.S. and Israeli special services which worked out the scenario for it in an attempt to justify another act of aggression against Libya. The fact that the hijacking occurred at the very time when the U.S. Administration is again threatening to attack Libya lends credibility to that explanation of the Karachi crime. In any case there can be no justifying either of these inhuman actions whatever the motives that prompted them.

The Soviet Union, which has always rejected terrorism, reaffirmed its position on the question in the TASS statement of September 7. Our country once again urged to cooperate effectively to extirpate international terrorism which carries off the lives of innocent people and seriously aggravates the world situation. One of the most important means to this end is the elimination of seats of crises and conflict in different parts of the world. For it is they that provide a fertile soil for international terrorism.

Y. BOCHKARYOV



Restructuring: Theory and Practice

ALEXANDER GUBER

"Our economic system is designed to be run by intelligent people." I have heard these words frequently. I interpret their meaning in the following way: while every system needs intelligent people, ours needs them even more because it is capable of replicating errors and miscalculations as well as achievements. Perhaps nowhere has this been more apparent than in agriculture. No other branch of the economy has, in the past, seen so many reforms, innovations, and experiments that have left unhappy memories in their wake in spite of their initial attractiveness. The ideas behind them were always sound but in practice when exposed to various concrete interrelated circumstances, both objective and subjective, they often ended up causing more harm than good. More often than not, they foundered because they were carelessly and thoughtlessly implemented.

The current restructuring goes deeper than its predecessors. Unlike many of them, it has been prompted by real and pressing social imperatives, has the backing of public opinion and is drawing on experience accumulated in various parts of the country.

This is not to say that the restructuring process is going smoothly, without encountering problems, difficulties and resistance. Serious change is never simple.

The Creation of the State Agro-Industrial Committee: Continuation or New Departure?

In late 1985 several government ministries were abolished and a State Agro-Industrial Committee was set up in their place. This, however, was not the beginning of an organizational reform but a continuation, as a result of which the agro-industrial complex in the U.S.S.R. is to be planned, administered and financed as a single whole at all levels, from top to bottom.

Let us take a closer look at the meaning of the reform. As science and technology progressed, agriculture produced offshoots in the shape of organizationally distinct, specialized branches: land improvement, the agrochemical service, technical maintenance, rural construction, the food industry.

These branches, like all others, came to be planned and financed "vertically," i.e., through the departmental bodies of the district, region, republic, and Union. The positive aspect of this system is obvious: it makes it possible for each branch to have a coordinated technical policy, to concentrate on specialized industries and manipulate production capacity. But it has an essential flaw which came in time to be increasingly felt: as the enterprises in the said industries did not have strong enough organizational and economic ties with the collective and state farms, assessments of their work did not greatly depend on the results achieved on the farms with which they were involved. In fact, they worked for their own department, fulfilling its plans and not economically tied to the farms for whose sake they existed.

The new policy, stress the Party documents, creates the prerequisites for the further improvement of the economic mechanism.

To sum up the idea is to give scope to economic methods, allow greater autonomy to enterprises, make them more interested in and responsible for the end results, that is, for the products that reach the consumer. How effective these measures prove remains to be seen. But one thing is already clear: workers in the agricultural industry have long been waiting for changes along these lines.

How are we to bridge the gap between what we can do and what we have done to date? The gap is uncomfortably wide even if we assess our potential not in principle but on the basis of the results achieved by the best enterprises.

I am not speaking about records which—in industry as well as in sport—are not within everyone's reach, but about the performance of ordinary people in ordinary conditions.

The Kalinin Region is far from being the most favourable place for growing cereals: it has poor soil and a not very suitable climate. Yet the local Kalinin collective farm harvests yearly about 3 tons of grain per hectare. Such collective and state farms are to be found in Siberia, the arid Kazakhstan steppes and other places, not to speak of the traditional granaries, such as the Northern Caucasus where yields twice as high are not uncommon. Now, in order to

meet the grain production target set in the Food Programme, it is enough to bring the average national yield to the level achieved by the best farms in the Kalinin area. There is still a long way to go because many collective and state farms obtain smaller yields even on better land, while many farms in the Kalinin area are content with only half that yield.

The reason for the gap is obvious: people work differently. Not only different people but even the same people work differently in different conditions. This is precisely what is meant by the human factor in production and, in the final analysis, all the changes being introduced in the Soviet economy seek to activate this factor.

Where the human factor works well, results are not long in coming. This is true of collective and state farms and inter-farm complexes. The important thing is not the name or form of organization but content, practical work, motivation and initiative. So, as I pass on to specific examples, I would like to begin with what on the face of it seems to be of marginal relevance to developments in our agriculture, but is in fact integral to them.

Does a Factory Need a Cowhouse?

In October 1985 Nikolai Lemayev, for many years the head of the Nizhnekamsk Petrochemical Production Association, was appointed Minister of Oil-Refining and Petrochemical Industries of the U.S.S.R. Having known him for twenty-five years, I availed myself of the right of an old acquaintance to put the above question to him shortly before he moved from Nizhnekamsk to Moscow.

At the time we became acquainted the lower reaches of the Kama River were predominantly agricultural, the building of petrochemical industries and the city of Nizhnekamsk was only starting and there was no mention of the giant Kama auto plant which was not to appear until much later. Today, the two neighbouring cities have between them a population of over half a million. How are they to be provided with meat, fresh vegetables, milk and fish? How are we to tap the local resources in accordance with the Food Programme? The local farms will be unable to meet that challenge. They had never been particularly efficient and were further weakened by having had some of their land taken away from them by new industries, cities and roads. Many farm workers had drifted away to building sites and factories. Clearly, they needed the help of industrial enterprises.

Industry in this country has been helping agriculture in various ways over and above such obvious ones as the supply of technology, fertilizers, pesticides, and plant growth stimulators. Some factories "adopt" collective or state farms, help them to build housing and farm facilities and send their people and trucks to help out on the field at the height of the farming season. Some factories set up their own subsidiary farms. Some do both.

Although the subsidiary farms of industrial enterprises receive their due share of attention in the Food Programme, to many people the very combination of words seems unnatural.

Their reasoning takes the following line. The scientific and technological revolution implies strict specialization. Fields must be tilled by farmers and not by steel or chemical workers. It is the business of farmers and not machine builders to raise cows, pigs and chickens. What is needed are large specialized collective and state farms and inter-farm complexes with a high degree of mechanization and automation, low production costs and high productivity.

"Isn't it logical?" I asked Lemayev. But he is not the kind of person whose thinking is to be confused by generalities. He sees no reason why such a large enterprise as the Nizhnekamsk Petrochemical Production Association should not run a specialized and technologically advanced subsidiary farm.

So the association set up its own farm Petrochemist. It was created to replace a very weak state farm that was barely able to pay its way.

Before long Petrochemist began to produce much more meat than the best farms in the region, including those that had specialized in meat farming for many years. The farm produces pork at less than half the average national cost and at a cost much lower than in specialized livestock complexes.

No special tricks were involved. In a sense the farm was working against greater odds than most. It was given—in several instalments—5,000 hectares of land which had been either unused or neglected by its former owners. Needless to say, it was far from being the best land. And then it did not consist of a single expanse but of parcels scattered over a considerable area.

The farm does not get anything free, not even from the plant. Nor does it boast any unusual buildings, machines or technology. Nothing out of the ordinary. Except perhaps an excellent storehouse in a hamlet 80 kilometres from the central office. There are rows of comfortable, well-built houses for two families each, the kind they are building in many places these days. But it is not everywhere that they have plots of land attached with outbuildings for cattle, poultry and supplies.

The farm is seriously understaffed. Most of the workers come from outside and have no particular skills (skilled workers prefer to go into industry). They learn farming skills as they go along.

The farm's trump card is rational organization at every level. Animals are fed with refuse food collected all over the city, locally produced grass meal and combined fodders received from the state in exchange for grain and grass meal. Pigs are also fed acorns which workers at the plant gather during the season. The food ration for animals is such as to ensure the maximum weight gain at the lowest cost. With this goes proper tending of the animals, discipline and organization. All this sounds elementary. But it is easier said than done.

Workers at the plant who regularly buy beef, pork and chickens in the plant's canteens and buffets are daily reminded of the benefits of their subsidiary farm. So, if any help is needed, there are always enough volunteers.

This is probably what makes all the difference. It is one thing to go out to help agriculture in general and quite another to help the people who feed you and your family.

Here are a few statistics. The subsidiary farm employs 1.5 per cent of the petrochemical association's work force. In the future the proportion is to increase to a little over 2 per cent. Each farm worker provides meat, fish and vegetables for 50 people. This is not of course the only way to tackle the food problem. But it will play its part in helping us to do away with meat shortages and the need for heavy government subsidies on every ton. So, a factory may not need a cowshed, but the kind they have in Nizhnekamsk could be very useful.

Abasha: A Success Story

From the banks of the Kama let us now move to the south of the country and visit Abasha, a tiny area in the Colchis Valley in Western Georgia. It covers 320 square kilometres and has a population of 30,000, but its fame has travelled far. Only 15 years ago it was one of the most backward parts of the Georgian republic. It gave very little to the country and seemed to be in a state of limbo. The locals grew maize, getting 1.2-1.5 tons per hectare, ridiculously small yields for a humid subtro-

pical area. The farmers' incomes matched their performance. They either left Abasha or did work on the side.

In 1974 it became the country's first district agro-industrial association. Simultaneously, an experiment, rather bold for that time, was undertaken. This experiment drastically increased the farmers' interests in the results of their work. Consequently, the region changed beyond recognition. It outperformed its recently far more comfortably-off neighbours on every count and became a model to be emulated. Much of the credit for the success of Abasha is due to the then secretary of the district Party committee, Guram Mgeladze.

Of course, Mgeladze could not have accomplished anything single-handed. And yet when he was promoted and left Abasha, the region lost some of its dynamism and found it hard to sustain the level achieved under him.

Be that as it may, the region still has considerable untapped potential. This is the challenge and mission of the new district Party secretary, Guram Gunava.

I first met him several years ago in Lentekhi where he held a similar post. The distance between Lentekhi and Abasha is roughly a hundred and fifty kilometres, but the contrast between them is striking. Lentekhi is all stark rocks and Abasha a sweltering valley, in Lentekhi there is snow several months a year, and in Abasha some years there is none at all, in Lentekhi the cattle graze on mountain pastures and in Abasha on ploughland. Before Gunava, Lentekhi was a loss-making economy, but Abasha operates at a profit. In Lentekhi he had to start from scratch, and in Abasha he had to maintain a well-run economy.

The elements conspired to make things difficult for him. In winter Abasha was struck by the worst frosts in living memory. Serious damage was caused to the oil-bearing crops and citruses. Deep snow made communications difficult and crushed the roofs of hothouses. Then came drought, an unheard-of thing in one of the most humid places in the Soviet Union. Some crops had to be resown, and the growth of maize, the region's main crop, slowed down dramatically.

Yet in spite of all these adversities, which would have explained any failure, Abasha brought in a record harvest in 1985. In the autumn, when Gunava took corn cobs to Tbilisi and showed them to experts, they gasped: they had never seen such beauties before.

Gunava found his Lentekhi experience very useful. There, too, he was up against problems that to many people seemed insuperable. Before him, the mountainous area had imported cattle feeds. One can imagine what every ton of meat and milk cost. The mountain people had resigned themselves to this situation, become used to getting government subsidies and contented themselves with modest production indexes and living conditions. A psychological change was needed to give them confidence that they could work and live differently.

Guram has the enviable gift of infecting people with his energy. Under him, mountain livestock breeding became a profitable concern. They stopped bringing in animal feeds from outside and established a reliable road link with the nearest big city, Kutaisi. They built roads usable in every season to all the villages and even to mountain pastures and grasslands. Wages increased, and housing conditions greatly improved. It became a totally different region, economically and socially.

In Abasha, as previously in Lentekhi, Guram is seldom to be found in his office. He is travelling all over the region, shaking people up, inspecting, looking into everything and trying to understand everything. He gives peace to no one, and this is perhaps not to everybody's liking. But he quickly gathered around him a group of like-thinking, dedicated people who make other people's concerns their own. For them, last year's harvest of 5 tons of maize per hectare (instead of the former 1.2-1.5) is not the final target.

Abasha today, small as it is, meets all the needs of a largish industrial town in meat, milk and vegetables.

"And this is still not enough," says Gunava.

I understood what he meant after accompanying him to some dozen farms and livestock complexes, and talking to farmers in the fields and in their homes.

At first glance, the climatic conditions in Abasha are very favourable: the mean annual temperature is plus 14 degrees Centigrade, the average rainfall is 1,693 millimetres. We have mentioned frosts, snowfalls and droughts, but these whims of nature are relatively rare. A bigger problem is this: the land of Colchis, once reclaimed from the marshes, needs drainage and other improvements. And it needs more powerful machines to plough.

At most farms cattle put on 0.5-0.6 kilogrammes a day. Gunava thinks the figure could well be brought to 0.9 kilogrammes, i.e., up to the level of the advanced Naesakao state farm. Why do the cattle there grow faster and yield more milk than the average? Why do they bring in not 5 but 8 tons of maize per hectare?

Guram Gunava believes that the only difference is the personality of the director. Galaktion Kutsiya, a graduate of the Sukhumi Institute of Subtropical Farming, has managed to tap reserves still insufficiently exploited by others.

The farms at Naesakao compare favourably even with the other, generally well-tended, livestock farms in Abasha. While in other places you may be struck by the size of the cowsheds, here it is the cleanness of the houses and the animals that strikes you first. They have the same grass, hay, and silage as other farms. Their combined fodder comes from the same newly built plant. But the diet is better structured, there is a larger store of feeds, the animals are better tended and the work is better

A new model of the Kirovets K-701M tractor.

TASS photo

organized. Such are perhaps the "secrets" of Galaktion. Gunava tries to exact the same performance from every farm manager.

The Sooner the Better

"Why do you think the average productivity of agricultural labour in the U.S. is 4-5 times higher than in this country?" I put this question to Ivan Zhirukha, a tractor driver at the Yaroslav Galan collective farm in the Radekh District (Lvov Region).

I chose him to ask that question for two reasons. Zhirukha is a first-class operator of farm machinery and some years ago he spent a month in the United States visiting an uncle who had been taken away by the nazis during the war and eventually settled in a New York suburb. In other words, Ivan is an expert himself and has seen American farmers at work.

"It hurts us to hear that Americans are working their land far better than we do. But unfortunately this is true. On average, that is. If they worked like many of our tractor drivers they would go bust. To them high productivity is a matter of survival. Not so here. No one in this country is in danger of losing a job, a livelihood and a roof over his head. But not everyone has sufficient awareness to understand that this great boon does not relieve us of the duty to work conscientiously."

I asked Zhirukha if he thought he could be a match for the Americans. He replied:

"Easily, and on any machine—tractor, combine harvester, you name it. I could beat them at anything. There are 240 machine operators on my farm and many of them are as good as I am. Where the Americans still have the edge on us is in the quality and reliability of some agricultural machines. And especially the way maintenance and repairs are organized. There the manufacturer takes care of maintenance. The tractor driver works in the field and the rest is not his concern."

And this from Miron Vasyliev, secretary of the Lvov Region Party Committee in charge of the agro-industrial complex:

"Sooner or later we shall have to adopt this form of maintenance and repair, and it had better be sooner. However, we cannot wait until this problem is solved radically on a nationwide basis. We in our region have a solid repair and maintenance infrastructure. It exists in every district and at every farm. If a combine harvester breaks down during the harvest season, we replace the faulty parts at once, and off it goes to the field again. But sometimes we run out of spare parts."

I must confess that I was pleased that the people I talked to when speaking about our lag in agricultural productivity never cited soil or climatic conditions as an excuse, although such an excuse is legitimate. Consider the following data.

In the United States, half of all farmland gets 700 and more millimetres of rainfall a year. Only one per cent of cropland in the U.S. is situated in areas with insufficient moisture.

This country raises two thirds of its grain crops in zones where farming is a high-risk business. Forty per cent of ploughland has less than 400 millimetres of rainfall a year and the best lands (with 700 millimetres) occupy only one per cent of the total area under crops.

Drought is not the only scourge of our agriculture. Sometimes there is sufficient moisture but inadequate heat. In winter, crops often perish in the frost if there is not enough snow. In the north and in Siberia, grain crops are exposed to a constant danger: spring frosts last until early June and autumn frosts may begin as early as late July.

On the whole, specialists believe that the bioclimatic potential of the farming zone in the U.S.S.R. is only half that of the U.S.A. Consequently, the yields are also lower.

All this is true. And yet the Yaroslav Galan farm brings in American-standard harvests on poor soils in the foothills of the Carpathians. And there are such farms in the Non-Black-Earth part of Russia, in the Volga area, the steppes of Kazakhstan and Siberia. We cannot yet change nature, and there are growing doubts as to whether we should even if we could. And in any case our agricultural problems can be solved in existing conditions. ■

APPOINTMENTS

Igor Alexeyevich ROGACHEV

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.

Igor Rogachev, a Russian, was born on March 1, 1932, in Moscow. In 1955 he graduated from the Moscow Institute of International Relations. He is a Candidate of Historical Sciences.

In 1955-58 he worked in the capacity of translator with the Academy of Sciences Amur expedition, and later at the editorial offices of the newspaper and journal Druzhba (Friendship) in Peking. Between 1958 and 1961 he was translator, interpretor and attaché at the U.S.S.R. embassy in the People's Republic of China and between 1961 and 1965—third, second and then first secretary at the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In 1965-69 Igor Rogachev was first secretary of the U.S.S.R. Embassy in the United States, and in 1969-72 counsellor at the embassy in the P.R.C. In 1971-72 he was also a member of the Soviet government delegation at the Soviet-Chinese negotiations on frontier questions. In 1972-75 he was head of a sector and assistant chief of the First Far Eastern Department and in 1975-78 chief counsellor and head of the Foreign Policy Planning Department of the Foreign Ministry. In 1978-83 he was chief of the ministry's Southeast Asian Department, in 1983-86, head of the First Far Eastern Department and from June 1986 chief of the Department for the Socialist Countries of Asia.

Igor Rogachev has been a member of the Collegium of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Foreign Affairs since 1983.

He has been awarded the Order of the Friendship of the Peoples, the Badge of Honour Order and also several decorations.

Yuri Evgenyevich FOKIN

Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to Cyprus

Yuri Fokin, a Russian, was born on September 2, 1936, in Gorky. In 1960 he graduated from the Moscow Institute of International Relations. He has been a member of the CPSU since 1966.

Yuri Fokin has worked under the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Foreign Affairs since 1960 and has occupied a number of important diplomatic posts. In 1976-79 he was assistant to the U.S.S.R. permanent representative at the U.N., from 1979 to 1986 he was assistant general secretary and then general secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

He has been awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labour, the Order of the Friendship of the Peoples and several decorations.

NOTES • REMARKS

● INSIGHT

EAVESDROPPING FOR THE RACISTS

Who is helping South Africa's racists to perpetrate their acts of terror against the African National Congress (ANC)? Who directs South Africa's bombers to their targets? The answer would seem to be U.K. and U.S. electronic snoopers!

This sensational news is reported by the New York Times and the London New Statesman. It transpires that under a secret U.S.-U.K. agreement of 1947, Africa has been placed under electronic surveillance by the U.K. Up to the mid-1970s, staff of the U.S. National Security Agency and their U.K. counterparts worked side by side from South Africa's spy centre at Silvermine near Capetown, watching major sea lanes off the African continent.

In the late 1970s British snoopers placed national liberation movements in southern Africa under surveillance. According to the New Statesman, British electronic snooper points in Swaziland, Malawi, the U.K. Embassy in Zambia, and possibly in Botswana synchronize operations with similar South African stations in occupied Namibia to eavesdrop on radio and telephone conversations in front-line states.

At South Africa's request the names of ANC militants have been fed to the computer banks at the U.S. electronic reconnaissance centre in Maryland and its U.K. counterpart in Cheltenham. Information about the whereabouts of ANC militants is transmitted to Pretoria whose terrorists then go into action.

The electronic intelligence centre in Silvermine, South Africa, has been lifted out and used by the British intelligence service.

Photo from the New Statesman (Britain)

THEY CAME BACK

Delhi city fathers have declared a peaceful war on the sacred cow, with some 50,000 freely-roaming animals not only gobbling up parks and gardens, and the saplings and grass lining streets and avenues, but causing car crashes daily. The problem was aggravated in July and August, when monsoon rains flooded the low-lying suburbs and cattle were herded out to graze on lawns and parks in the city centre.

As Hinduism forbids the slaughter of cows, even when old and decrepit, these holy animals are to be moved out of the city to yards where they will be fed

and looked after at state expense. Last year the specially formed 100-man cow-catching team lassoed some 20,000 head of cattle. The city fathers hope to be free of their sacred burden by the close of the year. However, UPI has issued a reminder that a decade ago all the city's horned inhabitants were moved out, only to return a mere two years later.

BEHIND SHARIAT

With the oil boom subsiding in rich Saudi Arabia, bankruptcies are on the increase, with many debtors defaulting on the pretext that Shariat forbids usury. As Saudi Arabia is governed by Shariat, judges are lenient. When these people borrowed the money, however, they willingly pledged to foot "administrative expenses" and "loan overheads" (other names for interest) and the authorities closed their eyes to these violations of Islamic law.

MISCELLANY

● **While on a business t Ziyauddin Vahdat, memb family and a colleague Afghan embassy were beaten up and h the railway line between the towns of Mianeh. The thugs, Iranian citizens, ro Afghans of their diplomatic papers, pa money. Afghanistan's Foreign Ministry h ed, demanding that due action be taken punish the criminals.**

● **The first part of a three-volume editi "cultural revolution" entitled "History Here: 1966-1976," has come out in Pekin 760,000 characters, the 53 articles include the crimes of Lin Biao and the Gang of**

● **Were elections to be held in France right-wing coalition would lose, accordin polls conducted by Le Nouvel Observat Match and Le Point in June, July and A**

● **Brazil is to build its own nuclear sub London Guardian reports. It has taken t in view of Britain's use of submarines Falklands conflict.**

● **A South African invention, which in of 15 seconds traps rioters in a triple b spiral, is a popular export item. Accor Johannesburg Star, some 200 of them ha been sold to Taiwan and "several cou Europe and South America."**

● **It is now known, according to a spo the U.S. Energy Department, that on Ma a U.S. air force bomber accidentally 10-megaton H-bomb when landing at a b Albuquerque. Luckily, the nuclear bomb not go off.**

THE GENERAL'S END GAM

Did Brigadier Ambrogio Viviani reali what would ensue from his May interview wi reporters from the weekly magazine Panoram No doubt this career officer, former paratroo er, commander of the prestigious Folgo brigade, head of military counterintelligenc and military attaché to the Italian Embassy Federal Germany, was aware of the risks. N wonder he significantly remarked over th chess board at his Oleggio villa that "today game is likely to be the most difficult have ever had to play."

Indeed, the general's revelation came as bombshell to Italy. He said that a military cou had been planned for June 2, 1971. Th counterintelligence ex-chief also reveale

ONE VERSION

PENTAGON BEHIND AIDS?

AIDS, Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, is the result of U.S. experiments in bacteriological warfare, say French scientists Jacob and Lily Segal. Their research has shown that structurally the AIDS virus was produced artificially by manipulating human genes. They note that in 1977 the Pentagon set up a laboratory at Fort Detrick, Maryland, to experiment with the genes of long-term convicts, who were promised freedom if they survived. Some of the prisoners, who were released, were carriers of the disease. The incubation period ended in 1979, the year in which the first AIDS cases were recorded in the U.S. Similar cases were registered in Western Europe and Africa only three years later. Though the Pentagon laboratory staff realized that the incubation period was too long to be of military use, they could not stop the spread of the new disease. It is believed that by 1990 some five million people will have been infected.

The hypothesis that AIDS was transmitted by a species of African monkey is without foundation, as the animal's genes are structurally quite different from the genes of the virus.

AMUSEMENTS

HOW TO SURVIVE IN THE SUBWAY

A highly popular board game in the U.S. today is "Subway avenger," the brainchild of Bernard Goetz who last year gunned down four teenagers in New York's subway for demanding five dollars from him. In accordance with the game's rules, players use dice, counters shaped as guns and bullets, and cards marked "You have pointed your gun at the hobo's head and may move two squares forward," or "the tramp is still alive and you get two more bullets," to "ride" the subway from Brooklyn to Bronx and... stay alive. Actually the game is fairly close to reality. Pointing his gun at one of the teenagers Bernard Goetz shouted: "You're not looking that bad, so have one more" upon which he fired another bullet into the boy's writhing body. The "avenger" was acquitted.

PIRACY AGAIN

In a document entitled "Violence on the High Seas," the International Maritime Bureau, London news media report, discusses cases of piracy which, astonishingly, still occur in the late 20th century. The document records all known acts of terrorism on the high seas since 1961. More than a hundred forced boardings were registered last year alone.

ls of nazi war criminal Herbert Kappler's terious escape" from his Italian prison. aid Kappler had been "escorted" to the ner Pass between Italy and Austria where, r a secret agreement between Bonn and e, the criminal had quietly slipped across border. Of particular interest were his ations about the Italian l'Argo 16 air- plane disaster in October 1973, which elieved to be the work of the Israeli ad intelligence service to "repay" the ns for having released several Arabs ly before.

y did the general divulge all this? He his motive was to take high-ranking nce Ministry offenders down a peg or If he is to be believed, his commanding rs had ordered him to join the P2 nic Lodge to snoop on its wrong-doings from the inside. After this unconstitutional association had been exposed, it appeared that the general's superiors had themselves been active in P2. One can only conjecture what Viviani had been told to do; at any rate, further promotion was blocked, whereas the ex-Masons were given prestigious posts.

As for the uniformed gambler, he is clearly losing the game he opened so dramatically. Within days of Panorama publishing his revelations, he was retired, while towards the close of August he was jailed for refusing to furnish additional information about the l'Argo 16 disaster.

Today he is silent, as he knows what the price of blabbing can be. After all, an innocent-looking cup of coffee, even in his high-security cell, could be his last, as was the case recently with mafia banker Michele Sindona.

TV BRIEFS

Polish television reports the case of an act of terrorism that was to be carried out during May Day celebrations. On April 29 Cracow security police spotted two devices for scattering leaflets and a teargas bomb on the rooftop overlooking the central square. Nine arrests were made, including the two Jagiellonian University graduates Agnieszka K. and Andrzej K., who appeared on TV afterwards and stated that they had been provided with resources for this terrorist act by outlawed Solidarnosc branches.

* * *

Philippines President Corazon Aquino met Nur Misuari, leader of the biggest Moro National Liberation Front separatist organization, to negotiate an end to armed clashes, which have caused a death toll of over 40,000.

* * *

A team of U.S. scientists say that in Cameroon some 1,500 people were asphyxiated by the carbon monoxide discharged from Lake Nios. The causes of the disaster have not yet been established.

* * *

NASA has announced that it will sack about 1,100 staff members at the John Kennedy spaceflight centre in connection with the Challenger disaster and the protracted postponement of the next launch.

* * *

Thailand's deputy Interior Minister Veera Musikapong faces a 10-year jail sentence for contemptuous remarks about life in the Royal Palace.

* * *

An arms trader arrested in the U.S. has confessed to having sold $50,000 worth of mines, grenades, anti-tank missiles, and explosives, stolen from the Pentagon Fort Bragg base, to a Ku Klux Klan grouping.

Proving Ground for Neoglobalism

ALEXANDER BARYSHEV

First, in June, the U.S. House of Representatives and then, in August, the Senate approved the allocation of $100 million for aid to or rather maintenance of the Nicaraguan contras, the Somozist remnants through the agency of whom Washington is waging undeclared war against the sovereign republic of Nicaragua.

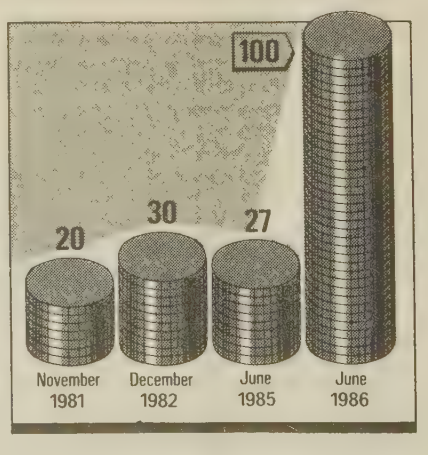
Everyone knows how hard the Administration, and the President personally, worked on the U.S. legislators to secure the passage of this Administration bill. In the end a majority vote, though slight, was obtained. Although some formalities still remain before it is finally endorsed, the U.S. press reports that by mid-September arms paid for from this appropriation will begin arriving at the bases of the anti-Nicaraguan forces stationed mostly in Honduras. Formally, $70 million of the $100 million is to go for the purchase of weapons and the remaining $30 million for the supply of uniforms, medicaments and food.

Not that the contras have been left without Washington funds until now. They have received through CIA channels all or nearly all they needed for continuing their brigand actions against Nicaragua, without the official approval of Congress. How this was done was revealed by Newsday, a paper published in New York State, in its August 17 issue. Citing a Defence Department source, the paper said that "over the past two years the CIA has 'loaned' helicopters, trucks and other services to the contras despite a ban on spending funds for direct support. The CIA did not transfer the additional funds or goods to the contras, so it stayed within the letter of the law. Instead the CIA invested in equipment to which it retained title and provided in-kind services without charge.

"A defence official," Newsday continued, "estimated the value of such equipment and services provided by the CIA at $50 million over the past two years. He said the equipment included light aircraft and helicopters used to fly the contras around Honduras, trucks, jeeps and generators. The same source estimated that the agency plans to provide the equivalent of $100 million to $150 million in goods and services in the next year—over and above the $100 million in aid to the rebel forces that has just been approved by Congress."

It is noteworthy that the White House considers all this "perfectly legitimate."

THE COST OF MAINTAINING THE CONTRAS
(mln dollars)



Besides these official allocations, the CIA spends money on the contras from secret funds estimated at $500 million.

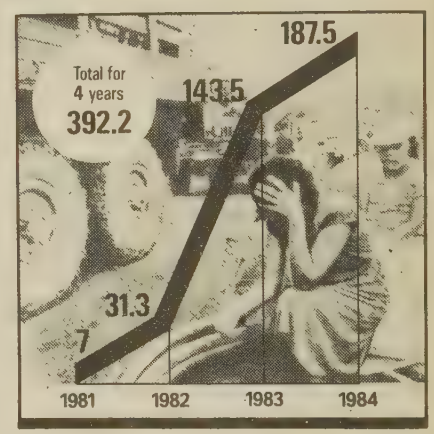
One of its spokesmen observed that the CIA could lend equipment and services to the contras "without violating the letter or spirit of the law." "He said so much of the overhead of the CIA, Defence and State departments in Honduras and other countries is in support of the Nicaraguan resistance that he could not begin to estimate the value of additional goods and services provided to the contras," Newsday reports.

Mask Discarded

White House pressure on Congress to approve the $100 million appropriation was prompted not so much by financial as by political considerations. President Reagan needed Congressional approval of his interventionist policy in Central America.

He got it. Now the U.S. Congress has in effect officially declared war on Nicaragua, a country with which Washington has diplomatic relations. A limited war fought through the agency of others, but a war nevertheless. It has been waged "covertly" for seven years now, taken a toll of 30,000 lives, and compelled one third of the population of Nicaragua's border areas to leave their homes.

DAMAGE CAUSED TO NICARAGUA
(mln dollars)



The decision to grant $100 million to the contras has been made not only in violation of the standards of international law, the Charter of the Organization of American States, and the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance of 1947 (the Rio pact), all of which bear the signature of the United States. It has also been taken in violation of U.S. law: the Boland amendment of 1982 which makes aid to Nicaraguan émigrés conditional on that aid not being used to overthrow the Sandinist government.

It is indicative that when it started the undeclared war against Nicaragua the White House claimed that the Sandinists were exporting revolution by supplying the Salvadoran partisans with arms. Hence it was allegedly necessary to use the remnants of the Somozists as a barrier to stop "the secret flow of military supplies" from Nicaragua through Honduran territory.

Now this false argument has been relegated to the background. Moreover, the Somozists themselves no longer agree to play the part of any such "barrier." What is needed is to overthrow the Sandinists and for this no camouflage is needed, they argue. And so the fable about arms deliveries from Nicaragua was forgotten and the contras' Washington patrons proclaimed them "freedom fighters."

The U.S. government's disregard of the June 27 decision of the International Court of Justice at The Hague (which found the Reagan Administration guilty of violating international law and the sovereignty of Nicaragua by rendering aid to anti-communist rebels, mining Nicaraguan ports and supplying the contras with manuals on assassination compiled by the CIA) and the approval by both houses of Congress of the $100 million changed the situation around Nicaragua. U.S. aggression in Central America has entered a new stage. It is evidence of Washington's intention, in effect, to turn the whole region into a proving ground for Reagan's imperialist doctrine of New Globalism.

Why Central America? First, because ever since the revolution in Nicaragua and the beginning of the armed struggle in El Salvador, the situation in the region increasingly holds out the prospect of reaction being defeated in a number of other countries as well. This would inevitably weaken Washington's position in the whole of Central America which Washington is accustomed to regarding as its bailiwick, its "strategic underbelly."

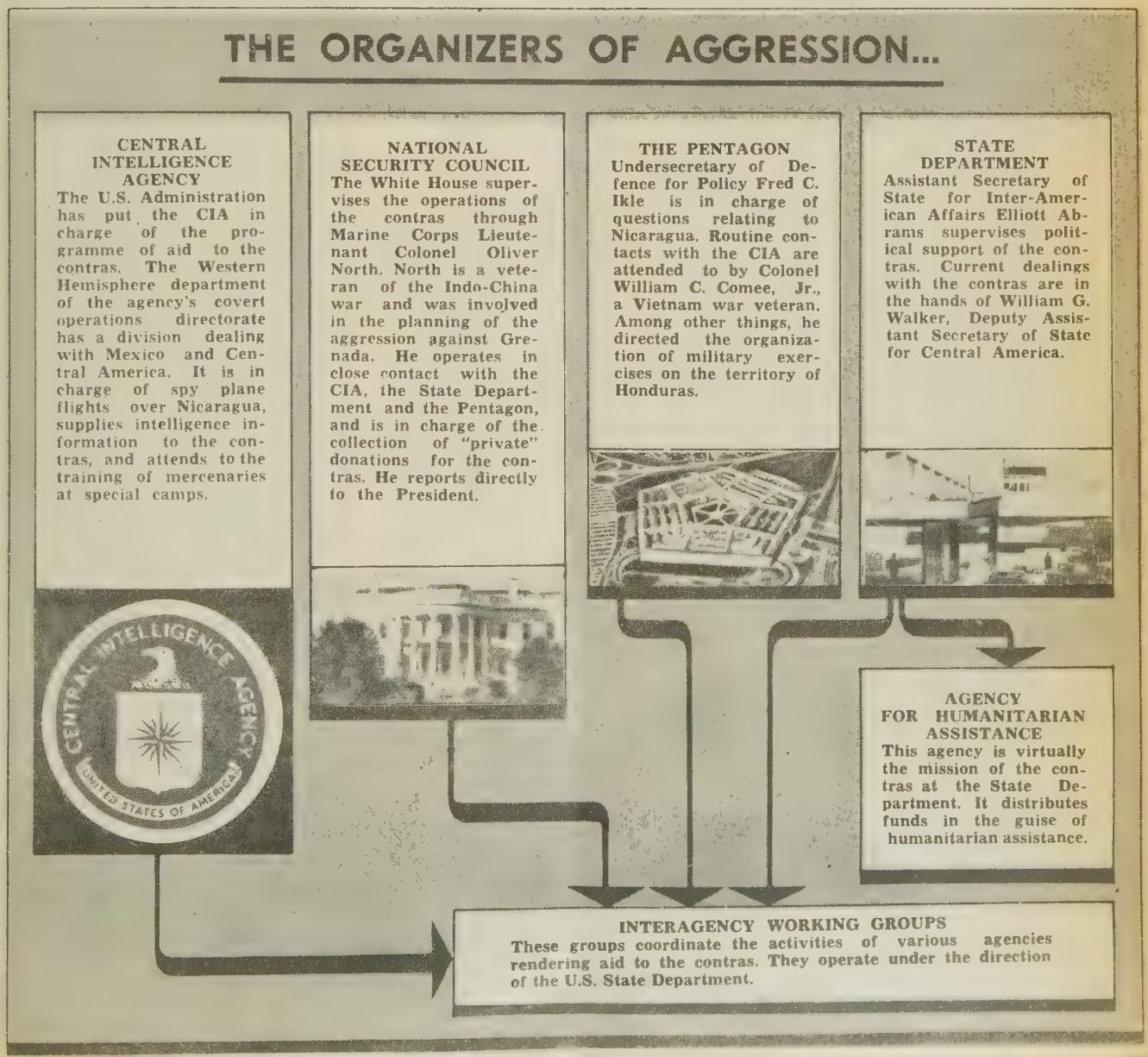
Second, the example of Nicaragua and the Salvadoran patriots exerts a revolutionizing influence on the entire zone of the United States' "special interests" in the Western Hemisphere, from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn, from which the transnational corporations pump out more than $40 billion in profit annually.

Third, the choice of Central America for a "showdown with international communism" is due to the fact that the Reagan Administration has close links in the small countries of the region with the local reaction and military, which has become a sort of praetorian guard of Washington. The White House believes that with their help it will be easier for U.S. ruling circles to crush the liberation movement there than in other regions.

Nevertheless, things are not confined to Central America.

The "July Salvoes" of 1985

As far back as July of last year the House of Representatives examined a whole package of requests submitted by the White House. It was at this time that open assistance to "non-communist resistance" in Kampuchea was begun and the ban on support for anti-government groups in Angola, that had existed for 10 years, was lifted. Also at


THE ORGANIZERS OF AGGRESSION...
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
The U.S. Administration has put the CIA in charge of the programme of aid to the contras. The Western Hemisphere department of the agency's covert operations directorate has a division dealing with Mexico and Central America. It is in charge of spy plane flights over Nicaragua, supplies intelligence information to the contras, and attends to the training of mercenaries at special camps.
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
The White House supervises the operations of the contras through Marine Corps Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North. North is a veteran of the Indo-China war and was involved in the planning of the aggression against Grenada. He operates in close contact with the CIA, the State Department and the Pentagon, and is in charge of the collection of "private" donations for the contras. He reports directly to the President.
THE PENTAGON
Undersecretary of Defence for Policy Fred C. Ikle is in charge of questions relating to Nicaragua. Routine contacts with the CIA are attended to by Colonel William C. Comee, Jr., a Vietnam war veteran. Among other things, he directed the organization of military exercises on the territory of Honduras.
STATE DEPARTMENT
Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Elliott Abrams supervises political support of the contras. Current dealings with the contras are in the hands of William G. Walker, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Central America.
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
AGENCY FOR HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE
This agency is virtually the mission of the contras at the State Department. It distributes funds in the guise of humanitarian assistance.
INTERAGENCY WORKING GROUPS
These groups coordinate the activities of various agencies rendering aid to the contras. They operate under the direction of the U.S. State Department.

this time Congress first voted for the open allocation of funds for arming the Afghan counterrevolutionaries and the House of Representatives approved a $27 million appropriation for "humanitarian" aid to the Nicaraguan contras.

After last year's Congress debates the journal Foreign Affairs wrote: "These votes to aid the world's four leading anti-communist insurgencies gave the so-called Reagan Doctrine a sharp new profile and a powerful new thrust."

It will be recalled that the Reagan Doctrine, also known as the doctrine of neoglobalism, openly calls for support of anti-government forces in countries in which socio-economic and political changes do not suit the U.S. ruling quarters. These anti-government forces are described as "democratic forces" seeking to overthrow "unlawful Marxist-Leninist regimes supported by the Soviet Union."

"To the Administration," Foreign Affairs says, "great strategic fruits are to be derived from a conservative foreign policy that starts with deterrence, proceeds through political, economic and ideological competition and arrives at support for insurgents." And Secretary of State George Shultz has said that the use of force by the contras accords with "moral principles" because they are fighting against "the imposition of communist tyranny."

In Shultz's opinion help should be given to those who are fighting terrorism—for instance, to the Salvadoran authorities in their repressive actions against the patriots. Thus the problem of combating real terrorism is turned on its head and state terrorism, which envisages the use of counterrevolutionary mercenaries of every kind, is said to be justified. Washington's policy is aimed at stirring up regional conflicts, which it regards as an intermediary stage between full-scale war and universal peace.

The proponents of the Reagan Doctrine also argue that it is economically advantageous for the U.S., that it protects U.S. interests cheaply and without much risk, since support for the contras, for instance, is far less costly for the U.S. than the use of its armed

...AND THE EXECUTORS

The contras may be divided roughly into four categories. First, the Somozists based in Honduras who stage armed provocations on the northern frontier of Nicaragua. Second, the leaders of the so-called Operation Miskito and the Indians manipulated by them. Third, groups "disillusioned with the revolution," or, more precisely, traitors to it. Lastly, counterrevolutionaries who, on the pretext of demanding "democracy," weave intrigues within the country together with Catholic hierarchs and maintain contacts with the U.S. Embassy in Managua. This group is represented by legally functioning bourgeois opposition parties rallied around the Democratic Coordinating Commission.

THE NICARAGUAN OPPOSITION UNION
Founded in May 1985 and based in Honduras. Its directing triumvirate consists of **ADOLFO CALERO PORTOCARRERO**, former head of the Nicaraguan subsidiary of Coca-Cola and former coordinator of the Conservative Democratic Party, a relative of Somoza; **ALFONSO ROBELO**, a businessman who, after the victory of the revolution, was a member of the Directing Council of the Government of National Reconstruction; and **ARTURO CRUZ**, banker and onetime candidate for the presidency. According to the Washington Post, Cruz received money from the CIA. He is the connecting link between armed counterrevolution and the internal Nicaraguan reaction.

All three are slated by the U.S. for the top posts in Nicaragua if and when the Sandinists are defeated.

OPPOSITION BLOC OF THE SOUTH
Based in Costa Rica. Formed in June 1986.

REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE
About 2,000 combatants and 8,000 non-combatants.

Its leader, Eden Pastora, decided in mid-May this year to discontinue armed struggle. At present the Opposition Bloc of the South has begun to fall apart.

NICARAGUAN DEMOCRATIC FORCE
About 15,000 men headed by Adolfo Calero Portocarrero.

MISURA
Indian counterrevolutionary organization, three of whose bandit units of 2,000-3,000 men operate in the northern province of Zelaya. It is led by Pastor Steadman Fagoth, a former agent of Somoza's counterintelligence.

MISURASATA
Counterrevolutionary organization of Miskito Indians numbering until recently 2,500.

The large number of anti-Sandinist organizations and armed bands reflects the heterogeneity and fragmentation of the Nicaraguan counterrevolution, and shows that the contras have no social base. CIA hirelings and renegades, they represent no one but themselves. They operate under democratic and revolutionary labels on instructions from Washington which wants to whitewash the Somozist bandits to give them the appearance of a representative military-political force and make the leading role of the former Somozists in the struggle against the revolution less conspicuous. The unceasing bickering among the counterrevolutionaries interferes with U.S. efforts to knock together a united anti-Sandinist front.

NICARAGUAN DEMOCRATIC FORCE (NDF)

The biggest armed group of contras. Founded in 1981 after the merger, under CIA direction, of the Army of National Liberation (men of Somoza's National Guard), the Democratic Revolutionary Alliance of Nicaragua (Somoza's officers) and the September 15 Legion (Somoza's top military leadership).

7-MAN COUNCIL OF DIRECTORS

under the chairmanship of Adolfo Calero Portocarrero, who is considered the top leader of the anti-Sandinists. He has a retinue of former Somoza guardsmen.

THE STRATEGIC COMMAND

The supreme command body of the NDF. Directly subordinate to the CIA. Its head is General Enrique Bermudez who in Somoza's time was commander of special punitive forces. Bermudez is chief of staff of the NDF.

NINE "REGIONAL COMMANDS"

Set up in 1984, they are headed by former Somoza officers, and are assigned to definite areas of Nicaragua. Each command consists of five smaller bands of 250-300 men each. After being infiltrated into Nicaraguan territory, they are supplied by air from military bases in Las Vegas, Banco Grande and Aguacate in Honduras.

The accompanying map of northern districts of Nicaragua shows the zones of operations of the "regional commands."

national security, and a rebirth of national optimism."

Back to the "Big Stick"

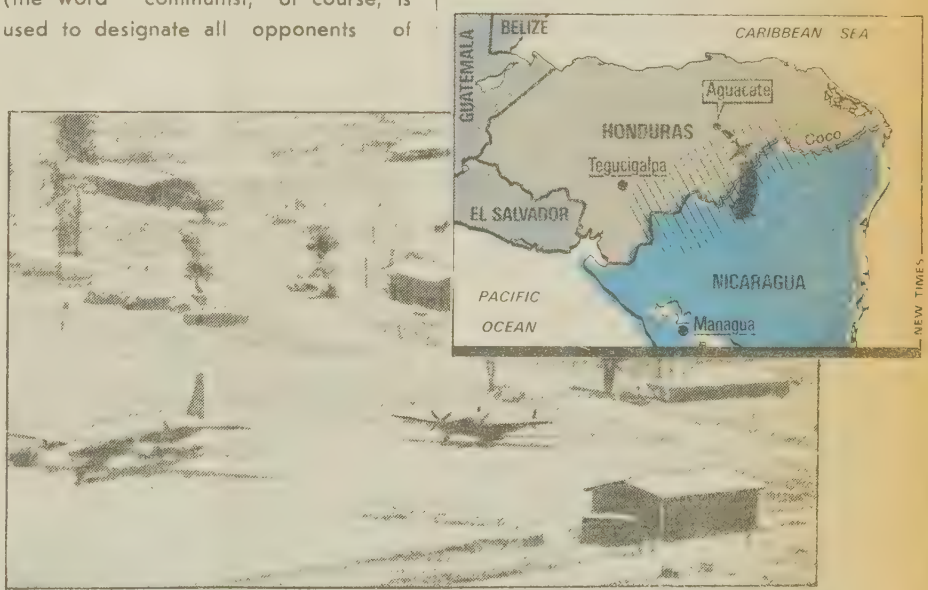
The operation of every Washington foreign policy doctrine is not confined to any strict time limits. When a new doctrine appears its predecessor is not written off. The present metamorphosis of U.S. foreign policy, which is manifest in the neoglobalist course for Central America, essentially signifies a return to Theodore Roosevelt's notorious "big stick" policy. Washington brandished that stick in Central America and the Caribbean at the beginning of the century and later used it on more than one occasion against recalcitrants: in Guatemala in 1954, in Santo Domingo in 1965 and in Grenada in 1983.

Foreign Affairs, not without grounds, notes one specific feature of the neoglobalist doctrine of the White House. The Reagan Doctrine, it says, "goes over to the offensive. It upholds liberation, the goal of trying to recover communist-controlled turf of freedom" (the word "communist," of course, is used to designate all opponents of imperialism), whereas, in the opinion of Foreign Affairs, the doctrines of containment as practised by presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Nixon and Carter were purely "defensive."

Of course those doctrines too were not defensive, they were expansionist and aggressive. But the present doctrine is aggressiveness squared. And if formerly most U.S. foreign policy adventures were prepared in secret, now the voting by both houses of Congress for funds for the conduct of the undeclared war against Nicaragua showed that for U.S. imperialism the days of secret wars in the Third World, with all their camouflage, are receding into the past. Now the highest U.S. legislative body deems it possible openly to give its blessing to brigandage. And although at present the main emphasis is placed on the use of mercenaries with U.S. forces only looming on the horizon, the latter can be sent into action at any moment for direct intervention.

This is more likely to happen in Central America than in any other part of the Third World. The U.S. press reports that the Pentagon has intensified the gathering of intelligence on Nicaraguan defence installations. And at the Fort Bragg base in North Carolina there is a huge model of Managua which is being used in planning the bombing and even the capture of the Nicaraguan capital.

All this may work out on the models and military maps on which the U.S. generals are busy drawing arrows. But hardly on Nicaraguan soil. What happened in Vietnam should have brought this home to U.S. ruling circles. And it will be the same in Nicaragua. For the strength of the Nicaraguan people is multiplied tenfold by the knowledge that their struggle for freedom and independence is a just one.



forces. A Pentagon spokesman described this tactic as action at a level lower than conventional hostilities, when traditional armies face each other; and everything below this level comes under the definition of "low-intensity conflict."

American reactionary ideologues have seen in neoglobalism "a new economic theory, a return to traditional values, the strengthening of

Social Democrats Chart Their Course

Herbert Wehner, a leading figure in the Social Democratic Party of Germany, has referred to the books of draft resolutions discussed at party congresses as "bricks." At Nuremberg, where the Social Democratic Party held a routine convention on August 25-29, each delegate received a 2.3 kg "brick," consisting of 653 draft decisions. As if that was not enough, another 26 were added while the convention was in progress.

There was less trouble on all counts with the number one draft introduced by the party executive. No comments were made either by local branches or the delegates. It was a one-sentence draft saying "Johannes Rau must be Federal Chancellor." In the presence of thousands of newsmen and numerous guests and observers, the delegates, cheering their candidate to the chancellorship, tried to show cohesion on the eve of definitive election engagements. Social Democrat Chairman Willy Brandt, reelected to this office for the twelfth time, sarcastically observed that if hitherto the party had been blamed for blatant controversy within its ranks, now it could be faulted for "superfluous unity."

What Brandt had in mind were the party's political adversaries. However, even its supporters feared that at Nuremberg it would face the electorate as a cluster of splinter groups. Indeed, over the few weeks before the convention contradictions within the party on a series of fundamental issues had been sharply defined, while according to public opinion polls its popularity had fallen somewhat. Many members openly disagreed with Rau's chosen election strategy which the party executive had approved. The candidate for the chancellorship is strenuously opposed to the probable cooperation at government level with the Greens, also in opposition, but is hoping for absolute majority. Many believe this is wishful thinking, as during previous terms in power the Social Democrats have shared government with other parties.

Nor do anything like all Social Democrats agree to the heavy emphasis on their candidate's personality during the campaign. It is feared that, if he becomes chancellor, Rau, who is now prime minister in North Rhine-Westphalia, will be more motivated by pragmatic considerations than by the party programme. True, this government programme has yet to be specified. The convention has entrusted Rau and his assistants with this job and the final draft of the programme will be adopted at the pre-election convention in Offenburg on October 25.

Facing Realities

The Social Democratic road towards the Nuremberg convention was a long and arduous one. At the turn of the 1970s and 1980s the party was gripped by the protracted malaise generated by the contradictions between its declared goals and the policy pursued by the government of Helmut Schmidt, then the party's vice-chairman. Faced with an economic recession, his government, spurred on by Big Business, mounted an offensive against the social gains of the working people. Benefits were reduced, unemployment rose, and the "new poor" emerged. Instead of the promised "broader democracy," the berufsverboten was toughened.

Contradictions were especially acute in the realm of foreign policy. West Germany's Social-Liberal coalition, which at the start of the 1970s had contributed appreciably to détente, now zealously championed U.S. designs to deploy first-strike nuclear missiles in Europe. Towards the close of 1979 the Social Democrat convention, knuckling under to pressure from the executive, supported NATO "rearmament." True, even then roughly a third of the delegates voted against. The "missile decision" split the party and, in corresponding proportion to the growth of the national peace movement the opponents of "rearmament" within the Social Democratic Party itself increased in number.

At Nuremberg the dire consequences for the party of support for the deployment of U.S. missiles were openly admitted. Andreas von Bülow, chairman of the SDP board's commission on security, noted that this support had resulted in loss of confidence in party policy.

The Social Democrats were able to throw overboard the shackles of the missile decision only after a full year in opposition: at their Cologne convention in November 1983 where Schmidt and his small following found themselves in complete isolation.

The Nuremberg convention reaffirmed the party's turning away from the seemingly bedrock precepts of NATO towards a realistic assessment. A new concept of the policy on security was adopted deriving from the thesis that in our present nuclear age security can only exist if it is reciprocal. Any attempt to guarantee security exclusively to one's own side at the expense of the other will only amplify the threat to both. For this reason the Social Democrats reject the American SDI programme. They contend that the militarization of space will make arms race control impossible. As for security, the opposed military blocs should regard one another as partners in seeking relations of confidence and trust, and making concrete moves to disarm and promote economic and cultural cooperation. In the final analysis, Europe should have a system under which there would be no need for military blocs. The Social Democrats emphasize that the inviolability of present frontiers and respect for the integrity and sovereignty of all European states are indispensable prerequisites for this.

The congress has nominated Johannes Rau as SDPG candidate for federal chancellor in the coming parliamentary election.

Photo from Der Spiegel (F.R.G.)

These theses approximate to, or dovetail with, the stance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the prominent party figure Egon Bahr noted at the convention. Many speakers mentioned the Soviet programme for the

phased abolition of nuclear weapons and called the unconstructive attitude of Washington and Bonn "scandalous." In a unanimously supported resolution the convention praised the Soviet Union's unilateral nuclear test moratorium.

What concrete moves do the Social Democrats plan if returned to government? Rau replied that he would call on the U.S. to discontinue the deployment of intermediate-range missiles in West German territory and withdraw those missiles already deployed. That the Soviet Union should take adequate measures for disarmament was not questioned. Rau also maintained that a future Social Democrat government should seek an agreement on the creation of nuclear and chemical weapon-free zones in Central Europe. "My government," he said, "will cancel the agreement on the F.R.G.'s involvement in SDI and oppose plans for a European version of SDI."

The Social Democrat programme on security was bitterly assailed at once by the ruling party and the news media. This was only to be expected as the said programme contrasts sharply with the policy of the present government which seeks to follow Washington's line.

"Conciliation" or Struggle?

Delegates received a small booklet listing the Kohl government's "negative records" in the economic and social fields. In 1985 the number of officially registered jobless averaged 2.3 million, the highest ever in the F.R.G. Today unemployment continues to exceed the two-million mark. At least further 1.3 million are in the so-called "silent reserve." These are people who, having lost all hope of finding a job, no longer register with labour exchanges. Some 2.6 million subsist on "social benefits," a beggarly pittance for people with no other incomes. Wage deductions are greater than ever before, with an average 17.7 per cent deducted for taxes, another 19.2 per cent for pensions, and 12.2 per cent for medical care and sick benefits.

All these "records" were reached during the cyclical economic upswing that almost coincided with the Kohl government coming to power. But what will the next cyclical recession bring?

Ample evidence was cited at the convention to stress the serious economic, and especially social, issues facing the F.R.G. However, what the public is most interested in is not statistics, with which it is familiar, but in whether the Social Democrats can offer an alternative to the current coalition government's policy. "The Nuremberg action programme" is the title of a rather broad document attempting to give theoretical substance to the Social Democrats' economic policy and list the concrete measures they plan to implement if returned to power.

The Social Democrats are backing the crucial demands of the trade unions to reduce the working week while maintaining levels of pay, repeal legislation restricting the right to strike, and extend workers' rights to participation in factory management. All this unquestionably carries great weight.

The drive against mass unemployment has been proclaimed the pivotal issue for the coming decade. It is stated that "private economy as such cannot ensure full employment," a task that the state must assume. True, the Social Democrats promise not full employment, but only less unemployment.

With this aim in view they plan to set up a special "work and environment" fund to cope with the dual task of creating 400,000 jobs and subsidizing conservation projects. The Social Democrats also plan to ease the plight of the unemployed, old-age pensioners, and mothers of large families, the categories hit hardest by reduced social expenditure.

At the convention these concrete demands won overall support. On the other hand, the compromises on principle dismayed both left and right.

Wolfgang Roth said that though Karl Marx was right when he noted the concentration of economic and, eventually, political power as inevitable under capitalism, his conclusions were to be "warned" against. Not nationalization but control via a democratized economy, he said, was the Social Democratic alternative. The theoretical part of the "Nuremberg action programme" is in the same vein. But, as one speaker asked with reason, how can you have "economic democracy" without nationalizing the key industries and bastions of financial capital?

Even the Social Democrats' timid designs to enhance the role of state regulation and expand trade union rights encounter stiff resistance from employers. Before the convention had ended the Federation of German Industries declared that the "Nuremberg action programme" "undermined the bedrock principles of social market economy." Karl Schiller, minister of economics and finance in governments at the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s, took the floor specifically to quote this statement and exhort delegates to reflect on its meaning, as a Social Democratic minister of finance will have to work with this powerful association of employers.

Naturally, the Social Democratic executive has no intention of quarrelling with Big Business. The slogan of the candidate for the chancellorship is "conciliation, not division." But how can one reconcile interests that not only differ, but are diametrically opposed?

From Bad Godesberg to Irsee

At the previous convention in Essen in May 1984 the Social Democrats decided to institute a commission to work out a new party programme. This body, under Willy Brandt, completed the first version of a draft programme this summer. It is known as the Irsee draft, as the commission met in the Munich suburb of Irsee.

It is worth noting that the present Social Democratic programme was adopted in 1959 at Bad Godesberg, a small township on the Rhine, now part of Bonn. That programme completed the process launched back in the 1890s of transforming the Social Democratic Party from a proletarian into a "bourgeois labour party." The Social Democrats have completely broken with Marxism and have revised their attitude to the private ownership of the means of production. To this day the Social Democratic leaders maintain that only thanks to the Godesberg programme were they able to win more votes from the middle classes. Though that may be true, these votes were bought at the cost of reneging on the basic principles of the working-class movement.

So why a new programme today?

In the first place, many statements in the Godesberg document are fallacious, and this is obvious to everyone today. The programme was compiled during West Germany's "economic miracle" which many thought would continue indefinitely. However, the reverse has proved to be the case.

In the second place, a plethora of problems and phenomena hard to foresee in 1959 have emerged. They include the scientific and technological revolution with all its social consequences under capitalism and the far more acute ecological problems, to mention only two aspects.

In the third place, the Social Democrats have powerful rivals in the shape of the Greens, who enjoy a large following among the younger generation today.

In what respects does the Irsee draft differ from the Godesberg programme? Though this merits detailed analysis, I shall dwell briefly on its most striking features.

In the Godesberg programme there is no analysis of the current situation. An attempt of this nature is made in the draft of the new programme. Thus, the

preamble headed "The World in Which We Live" mentions the threat of self-annihilation due to the development of nuclear weapons. There is also a reference to the "inability of the economic system operative in the Western industrialized countries to use the immensely increased productive forces to improve the quality of life for all."

Whereas the Godesberg programme speaks only generally of the need to preserve peace, the Irsee draft details the new Social Democratic concept of security. Marx is again mentioned, in contrast to the Godesberg programme. Marxism, along with humanitarianism, Christianity and the experience of the labour movement, is again cited as a spiritual source of Social Democracy. Whereas previously "democratic socialism"—in accordance with Bernstein's well-known thesis that "the goal is nothing, the movement is everything"—was qualified exclusively as a "long-term task," now we read about overcoming the sway of capital over labour, of things over people, of the end of a class society and the elimination of class privileges. Such notions were absent from the Godesberg programme.

The Social Democratic Party of Germany was a reformist party and so it remains. The basic principles of the Godesberg programme have been retained in the draft of the new programme. But it illustrates nonetheless the serious changes within the party, the fact that the Social Democrats are taking a more realistic view of both the society in which they live and the world around them.

A real discussion of the draft will commence only after the general election. As for the adoption of the programme as such, that will occur in 1988, and the programme will probably be called the Bremen programme, as a special convention is to be held for the purpose in that city. Both discussion of the programme and its content will certainly be affected by the results of the forthcoming general election, which will either bring the Social Democrats to power or again leave them in opposition.

A. TOLPEGIN
our own correspondent

Nuremberg-Bonn

DISTRESS SIGNAL AT MIDNIGHT

RESCUERS' COURAGE ● A WHOLE CITY LENDS A HELPING HAND ● GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE

On the night of August 31 a major disaster occurred in the Black Sea 15 kilometres from the port of Novorossiisk. The Pyotr Vasyov, a drycargo freighter, collided with the liner Admiral Nakhimov, which was carrying more than 1,200 persons inclusive of the crew. Heavily damaged, the liner sank to a depth of nearly 50 metres in 7-8 minutes. The accident happened at around midnight, in the open sea, and during a Force 3.5 gale. Nonetheless, 836 people, the majority of those on board, were rescued.

In its history, the port of Novorossiisk on Tsemes Bay has demonstrated courage and heroism time and again. On that tragic night it took on the full burden of the disaster. A mere 25 minutes after the collision first mate Victor Belovol took out pilot boat LK90 at top speed and the crew dived to haul the victims out of the darkness. Spotting a woman clasping a child to her breast mechanic Vladimir Vologin plunged at once. She held the baby, imploring him to save the child. He took off his life jacket and gave it to the woman, picked up the baby, and pulled both aboard. Altogether, the LK90's crew rescued 84 people.

The first people to hear the SOS were borderguards and sailors who went to the scene of the disaster as fast as they could. The Novorossiisk port services took split-second decisions and within nine minutes of picking up the SOS, all available vessels were sent out. Two minutes later the ships and tugs of the merchant port were also ordered out. Fishing boats from the Chernomorets collective farm likewise rushed to the scene. All in all, over sixty boats had joined in the rescue operation within an hour of the collision. Operating with smooth precision, their crews tried to save all survivors, often risking their own lives.

Photo from archives

The eight-man crew of the torpedo boat commanded by midshipman Gusev rescued 146 shipwrecked passengers. Pulling at the oars of their boats, cadets of the Novorossiisk Higher Merchant Marine Engineering School laboured through the night with the borderguards, none of them more than 19 or 20, and pulled hundreds of survivors out of the water.

Nikolai Khvorostyansky, First Secretary of the Novorossiisk City CPSU Committee and head of the rescue and relief operations, relates:

"It took the city authorities a mere 30 minutes to organize round-the-clock hitch-free search, rescue and relief operations. Thanks to concerted action by everyone involved, by 9 a.m. on September 1, 836 survivors had been brought ashore. All of Novorossiisk was alerted. Doctors and paramedical personnel operated at sea and on land. Six ambulance teams sped out at once to be joined by another twelve as day broke. Krasnodar's top medical specialists arrived to help the local municipal hospital staff. In under an hour 1,200 hotel beds were made available, supplies of clothing and footwear were brought in, hot meals prepared, and efficient telegraph and telephone communications with every point in the country were operating. Fleets of buses, lorries and passenger cars were organized."

Within an hour of the disaster Novorossiisk was fully prepared to receive and assist the survivors. The

inhabitants volunteered to give accommodation, clothing and money, and take part in rescue operations.

The state, of course, stepped in to bear the brunt of the troubles. By 5 a.m. on September 1 the Krasnodar territorial rescue and relief operations centre was functioning. That same night, a government commission arrived, headed by Geidar Aliyev, a Member of the CPSU Political Bureau and U.S.S.R. First Deputy Premier.

At daybreak helicopters joined in the search and rescue operations, with eight choppers surveying a 30-kilometre strip of sea till late at night. Subsequently airborne search parties covered an area of up to 100 square kilometres. The diving service of the Black Sea Shipping Line went into action. From twenty special service ships, equipped with all the necessary diving equipment, pressure chamber and television, eighty first-class divers under Lev Kilchevsky investigated the sunken liner's 500 passenger cabins, lounges and other facilities. Though it is both physically and morally arduous bringing bodies to the surface, these young men discharge their duty with selfless courage.

While search and rescue operations continued, everything was done on shore to allay fears, provide medical care, and send the survivors home. They were clothed, shod, and fed, and given free air and rail tickets and enough money to see them to their respective destinations.

The government commission and territorial and municipal rescue and relief teams, as well as the residents of Novorossiisk lavished every care on the relatives of the victims. They were put up at the best hotels and provided with free meals, transport and telephone and telegraph services with all expenses borne by the state. The state will pay life insurance premia to the relatives of the deceased, as well as compensation to survivors for the loss of their personal possessions.

Geidar Aliev and other members of the government commission arrange daily meetings and detailed conversations with relatives of passengers on board the Admiral Nakhimov, keep them informed about the search operations and give them every moral support.

"Every request of relatives who came to Novorossiisk is seen to," said Ivan Polozkov, First Secretary of the Krasnodar Territory CPSU Committee, who is also a member of the government commission. "The plethora of problems that arise are resolved efficiently, on the spot. The population of the whole territory are doing all they can to help the victims and their families."

During these tragic days hundreds of messages have been cabled to Novorossiisk from all over the country. In a wire from Uzbekistan lifeguards of the Kashka-Darya lifeboat service offered to assist in the rescue. Many people in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and other cities have volunteered their help. These cables and letters have shown that the Soviet people are always ready to give selfless aid to others, that they take the grief of others as their own.

Leaving Novorossiisk, survivors thanked the city and its people for their help. Once home, they will receive further assistance.

The inquiry into the causes of the disaster continues. The captains of both ships have been placed under arrest, and representatives of the U.S.S.R. Procurator's Office are investigating the situation on the spot.

Rescue operations continue.

S. GEYEVA

Novorossiisk, September 9

Trade Union Action Day

The Soviet unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests was the keynote of the powerful anti-war demonstrations that took place on September 1—Day of Trade Union Action for Peace—in many countries.

On behalf of the nearly three million members of the Cuban trade unions Jesus Escandell, member of the National Executive Secretariat of the Workers' Centre of Cuba, who addressed the rally in Havana, sharply condemned Reagan's policy. Through the fault of the United States, he stressed, the world is experiencing the most critical period in its history. The mountains of weapons that have been accumulated could destroy our civilization.

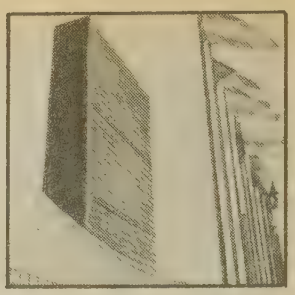
The F.R.G. trade unions demand the speediest achievement of agreements on disarmament. A complete ban on nuclear testing, renunciation of the "star wars" programme, and the reduction of war budgets could be initial steps in this direction, Günter Volkmar, Chairman of the trade union of bank, commercial and insurance employees, said at a meeting in Düsseldorf.

Similar demands were heard that day on the streets and squares of Rome and Vientiane, Ankara and Managua, Colombo and Lisbon. The worldwide support of the call of the World Federation of Trade Unions "For Peace and Work!" was a resolute No to the advocates of the disastrous arms race.

A mass demonstration in Paris.

TASS photo

The Peoples' Hopes



are associated with the U.N. General Assembly session opening in New York. Report by our correspondent ANDREI ARKHIPOV

In a few days the flags of the participants in the 41st session of the U.N. General Assembly will flutter from the masts outside the U.N. Secretariat in New York. The U.N. has entered its fifth decade. Each session of its chief body has its own special importance. Last year's jubilee session was significant in that the heads of state and government, along with their special representatives, reaffirmed their adherence to the bedrock principles of the U.N. Charter, and the decision was taken to mark 1986 as the International Year of Peace. The session now about to open presents the opportunity to assess the contribution each state has made to the practical resolution of a problem that is far from being of purely academic interest to our planet, the problem of how to ensure peace to humanity, and to bolster up the principles of the U.N. Charter to which allegiance was sworn a year ago.

So what can we expect of the forthcoming session?

It should be remembered that on January 15, in less than a month after the U.N. General Asembly decisions were made public, the Soviet Union put forward a concrete programme for the full and universal abolition of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, whose substance may be expressed in the slogan "Disarmament for development." The U.S.S.R. constantly advocates granting the U.N. a bigger role in the effort to strengthen peace and international cooperation. On January 27 a memorandum concerned with economic safety was forwarded to U.N. headquarters. In March in a letter to U.N. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar, Mikhail Gorbachev sketched the moves permanent members of the Security Council could take in concert to attain the objectives set by the U.N. In June the Soviet government proposed measures to avert the arms race in space along with a stage-by-stage programme for its peaceful development under the aegis of the U.N. or any other international organization.

The Delhi Six acted in accordance with the spirit of the U.N. decisions and the realities of the nuclear space age. On the eve of the forthcoming 41st session, the Harare non-aligned summit voiced support for disarmament.

But what do we hear from the other side? Nuclear explosions in Nevada counter to the Soviet moratorium that has now been extended to the end of this year. The spring of space weapons coiled for action. The U.S. brigand assault on Libya. Its continued provocations against it. Its $100-million injection to the Nicaraguan contras to exacerbate the conflict in Central America. Washington certainly places a very peculiar interpretation on the objectives of this Year of Peace! One has the impression that the more energetically the nations seek to use the unique character of the U.N. to resolve urgent issues, the more blatantly and provocatively certain influential circles in the West act against the U.N., not to mention their infringements of the rules and norms of international law.

I have before me a curious document, in which the U.S.A.'s U.N. mission surveys the results of the previous General Assembly session. It is common knowledge that the U.S. delegation displayed unprecedented obstructionism, when most of the issues were being discussed in the First Committee (disarmament). However, the analysts are satisfied, as they have managed to pile up new obstacles and complicate the adoption of positive decisions to restrain the arms race, and promote disarmament. There are also other things that make them happy. "Over the last two months," the Christian Science Monitor notes, "the Reagan Administration indicated it will reduce substantially its share of the U.N. budget and ordered the Soviet Union to trim its U.N. mission by nearly 40 per cent. Both moves, according to U.N. officials, are violations of Washington's treaty obligations and run counter to international law."

But how can one speak of law when the crudest of misrepresentations are made? The conservative Heritage Foundation think tank, that generator of the current U.S. Administration's ideas, is sounding the "Reds under the Bed" alarm, claiming that the U.N. Department of Conference Services is completely controlled by Eastern bloc representatives. As the layman does not know that of 116 posts 35 are held by U.S. citizens, 30 by West Europeans, and only 14 by officials from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, this is an easy

Ferenc Esztergalyos,

permanent representative of Hungary at the U.N.:

We are honoured that the Hungarian People's Republic has submitted to the United Nations a letter in which a group of socialist states proposes to include the creation of a comprehensive international security system in the agenda of the 41st session of the U.N. General Assembly.

Reliable security for all countries and nations can be attained only by political means and the concerted efforts of all states. The system we propose embraces economic and humanitarian, not to mention military and political, spheres. It behoves the United Nations to evolve in the appropriate document the principles underlying the creation of such a system of international security.

It gives me satisfaction to note the positive response at U.N. Headquarters to the new joint initiative of the socialist countries.

Mihalis Dountas,

permanent U.N. representative of Greece:

Of the problems on the General Assembly agenda I would single out two: first—how to curb the arms race upon whose solution civilization's future hinges, and second—the Middle East situation which represents a constant menace to international peace, not to mention the peoples of the region.

My country welcomed the January 15, 1986, statement in which the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev put forward a programme to abolish nuclear weapons by the year 2000. That is indeed a valuable initiative deserving of every support.

The most important thing today is, of course, the controlled discontinuation of nuclear testing. As one of the Delhi Six, Greece set out its view on this matter in the Mexican Declaration which the leaders of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania, and Sweden adopted last August in Ixtapa. It expresses the readiness of our countries to aid practical control of a reciprocal U.S.S.R.-U.S. moratorium should such a moratorium be achieved.

Mikhail Gorbachev's reply to the message from the Delhi Six leaders and the Soviet Union's extension of its unilateral nuclear test moratorium are welcome developments.

claim to make. Add the U.S. Administration's unlawful curbing of the privileges and immunity of a range of U.N. representations and there emerges a definite tendency that threatens U.N.'s very survival.

In the world today nobody questions the need for probes to Mars and Venus or the international Halley's Comet experiments, as everyone realizes that the earth's scientific, technological and economic future depends upon such things. The trouble is that the technocratic aspects of the Western mentality often take precedence over political awareness. All civilization's material achievements will be futile unless ways and means are found to cope with explosive conflicts. Though the machinery of the U.N. unquestionably has room for improvement, it can already be instrumental in generating and sustaining the political climate essential for humanity's survival.

Many people in the U.S. understand that. No wonder the overwhelming majority of Americans want the U.N. to survive. Edward Luck, President of the American Association for the United Nations, says that "in the long run stronger collective-security mechanisms will be essential to making the world safe for disarmament." What is needed to achieve that end? That the U.S. Administration take the views of Americans into account. "For many years [in the U.N.—**A.A.**] our posture has been long on criticism and short on constructive initiatives. Transfixed by what we do not like, we have failed to put forward a positive agenda or a vision for the future."

However, Washington continues to look for scapegoats elsewhere. That "champion of democracy," the U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Walters has again threatened economic sanctions against states that dare to censure Washington's policy at the coming session. "If you think that you can vote against us with impunity, that time is past," the former deputy CIA director cynically remarked.

"U.S. isolation at the U.N. occurs not because the General Assembly has drawn support away from the United States," Robert Johansen of the New York World Policy Institute retorts to Walters and his following. "Instead it occurs because the Reagan Administration and misguided Congressional attacks on the U.N. have moved the United States outside generally recognized boundaries of fair play and international law."

The picture of these violated boundaries is as follows:

—the hasty use of force in Grenada;

—the shelling of Lebanon in 1983;

—the mining of Nicaraguan bays and other hostile acts against a country with which the U.S. is at peace;

—the walkout from the International Court of Justice;

—the refusal of U.N. requests for aid to the dispossessed countries;

—the slighting of General Assembly requests and treaty commitments to negotiate a full nuclear test ban;

—the evasion of mandatory contributions to the U.N. budget.

In Robert Johansen's view even allies are perplexed by the stubborn unilateral behaviour of the U.S. "In this age, almost no important economic or political goal can be reached save through multilateral cooperation," he says.

This sentiment, winning over more and more minds throughout the world, is taken into account in the motion tabled by a group of socialist countries to discuss the creation of a comprehensive system of international security system at the 41st session. It is high time not only to stop the nuclear madness but also to evolve a range of measures to consolidate confidence and mutual understanding, and get cooperation going. The joint proposal expresses the conviction that the U.N. will be able to face the challenge of the times.

Hamid Mohammed Ali,

chargé d'affaires of the permanent U.N. mission of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen:

It is my conviction that at the General Assembly's 41st session the non-aligned countries and socialist states will again cooperate successfully in the interests of stronger international peace and security. As U.N. history has shown, the views of these two groups of states on crucial issues approximate or dovetail, above all with regard to the problem of ending the nuclear arms race.

In this Year of Peace the Soviet Union has extended its unilateral nuclear test moratorium to the beginning of 1987. This sensible and humane move has been received with hope at the headquarters of the world community. If the other nuclear powers, especially the U.S., were to emulate the U.S.S.R.'s noble example this would be a genuine step towards the implementation of the programme for the complete phased abolition of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction by the year 2000. The world would heave a sigh of relief. The immense financial resources currently being squandered to devise increasingly sophisticated weapons of destruction could be used for development, which is vital for Asia, Africa and Latin America.

This optimism, this hope that a new way of thinking in the interests of mankind's survival will eventually prevail within the United Nations is shared the world over.

New York—Moscow

Interviews by TASS correspondent
A. SIDORUK
at New Times' request

CRACKS IN THE GRANITE

From our special correspondent YURI GUDKOV

History and contemporaneity form a curious blend in Sweden today. This is graphically illustrated by famous architectural landmarks of the past, a 12th-century church in Sigtuna (the country's first capital), gutted by a fire but painstakingly preserved, a magnificent cathedral, founded in Uppsala in the 13th century, and the ancient walls of Gamla Stan, the Old City in Stockholm.... Of course, it is the hard granite, of which the whole of Sweden seems to be made, that has enabled many historical monuments to survive till our time. But there is more to the visible presence of history in Sweden.

Stockholm City Hall, one of the sights of interest rightly featured in all tourist itineraries, was built in the 1920s—but it is a replica of the medieval City Hall. Gamla Stan lives the same life as other parts of Stockholm and does not seem at all old under a fresh coat of paint. It is about to hold major celebrations to commemorate the anniversary of the Stora company, engaged in mining, pulp-and-paper and timber production. A seemingly insignificant occasion, except for the fact that the company went into business 700 years ago, as is testified by a document dated 1288, which has been produced by Stora's managing director. Food for thought for those who wonder about the origin of high-level specialization in Swedish industry.

The Risks

It is all the more creditable then that Sweden today should display such perseverance, ingenuity and boldness as it reaches out towards the technology and processes of the future. It is among the world's foremost countries in the rationalization of production and structural economic change. It is a land of inventors, where interest in innovation is fostered cleverly and purposefully from childhood. But there is no need to make conjectures about the Swedes' "special frame of mind": the reasons are purely economic.

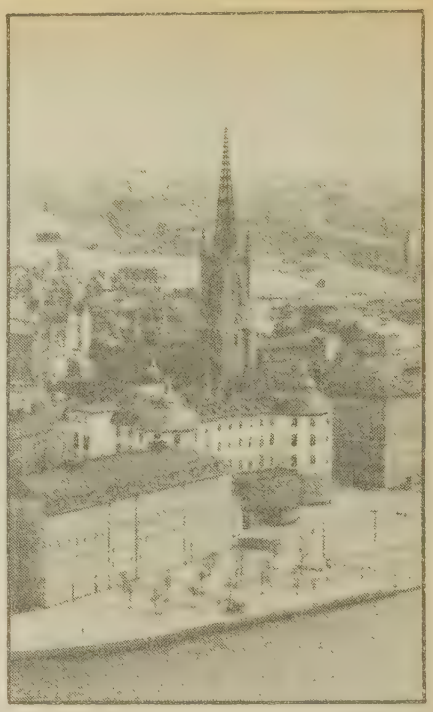
Sweden came to depend on foreign markets long ago. Today it sells half its industrial output abroad, primarily to Western Europe and the U.S. and the proportion in some industries reaches 80-90 per cent. (For instance, only one in five Volvo cars remains in Sweden.)

The risks involved in this economic pattern, however, are high. Sweden has very little influence on the situation on foreign markets—the ebb and flow of demand and growing competition—but it has to live with it. In the past decade, for instance, the industries regarded as the backbone of Swedish production, such as iron and steel, nickel and shipbuilding, sustained heavy losses. Once the world's second largest shipbuilder after Japan, Sweden has actually wound up that industry. Today it is engineering, electrical engineering, computers and information technology that have come dramatically to the fore. As time goes by, emphasis is shifting increasingly to the products of the future.

Recently, on February 22, Sweden joined the "space club" by launching its first satellite, the Viking. Another illustration of the potential of Swedish industry (and its aggressiveness) is the recent takeover of the American company White Consolidated Industries by the Electrolux corporation. The deal, without precedent in Swedish history, cost Electrolux $745 million and made it the leading producer of household durables in the capitalist world.

The success of Swedish industry is based on its ability to develop and introduce technological innovations, enabling it to produce goods with high market appeal. Electrolux, for instance, is famous for its absorbing refrigerators, Ericsson is ahead in the production of telephones, Alfa-Laval AB leads the world market with its milk separators, SKF is the world's foremost producer of roll bearings, especially now that they have been made self-adjusting, and ASEA is the leading West European producer of robots.

Yet growing production costs and high inflation detract from the competitiveness of Swedish products. The growth rate of exports continues to slow down while imports are expanding. Last year the country again ran up a foreign-trade deficit (in 1984 it had had a surplus, its first for the past decade). Today hopes are pinned on



Stockholm is called, and rightly so, the "Venice of the north."

the sharp drop in oil prices which Finance Minister Kjell-Oloff Feldt characterized as "a unique opportunity for redressing economic imbalances." Indeed, Sweden is among the world's leading oil consumers in per capita terms, and relies exclusively on imports. Yet it is generaly believed that the hope for any substantial improvement in the competitiveness of Swedish products is illusory: "Falling oil prices will help our rivals too," says Lennart Johansson, chairman of the Board of the Federation of Swedish Industries.

Industrialists think that better opportunities are offered by expanding the gap between the growth of wages and that of labour productivity, and also by cuts in public spending, predominantly in social security. All this is nothing new but the demands for them are now more persistent than they have been for a long time. It is also symptomatic that proprietors immediately counter any threat of a strike with mass layoffs.

The Divide

Ola Virin is chief economist with the Swedish Employers' Confederation. Sitting at his table strewn with business papers and newspapers, he thoughtfully analyzes the situation:

"The situation is growing worse and the risk to the system is escalating. A strike is hard to stop once it has started. Yet labour discontent is likely to grow."

Two things, however, are axiomatic in his view, or rather in that of the organization he represents; they are not subject to discussion or revision.

First, it is necessary to decrease the share of wages in production costs in order to slow down inflation, which, according to his calculations, will reach 7.5-8 per cent in the next few months, twice that in the F.R.G., Sweden's most dangerous trade rival. This means that Sweden's position on foreign markets will be undermined. It is not workers that push up prices, as everyone knows. Protecting their profits, industrialists always shift their growing outlays onto consumers. But, clearly, the question of the true reasons for inflation is not up for discussion.

"It is necessary to impose constraints on the overall growth of wages, and it would be better if the bargaining (between proprietors and trade unions) were decentralized. We would prefer it at the level of individual companies," Virin continues.

It is not merely a wish but a goal which is being pursued consistently. The idea was unexpectedly put into practice some time ago. The game, with sops to individual categories of workers while the overall level of wages was being depressed, began in earnest. The trade unions retaliated with a return to centralized bargaining, and an attempt is now being made to secure pay rises for workers in the lowest pay bracket who are less organized and more vulnerable to inflation and the regime of "austerity."

Centralized bargaining means a single strategy rather than a single package of agreements.

"The catchword of the trade unions is, of course, solidarity, with the strong backing the weak," says Per-Olof Edin, chief of the economic department of the Swedish Trade Union Confederation, when we met at the Confederation's headquarters. "But our agreement, which we call collective, is reached at the level of the unions of individual industries. Conversely, if a central agreement is hammered out, it has to be 'translated' into the language of individual unions."

A tactic prompted by the close interdependence of the components of today's production mechanism is obvious here. From the point of view of the trade unions, the general strike is "unprofitable" because it involves large outlays on strike benefits.

"We can stop all production with a strike of 10 per cent of the members of our Confederation and it will not cost us too dear," Edin explained.

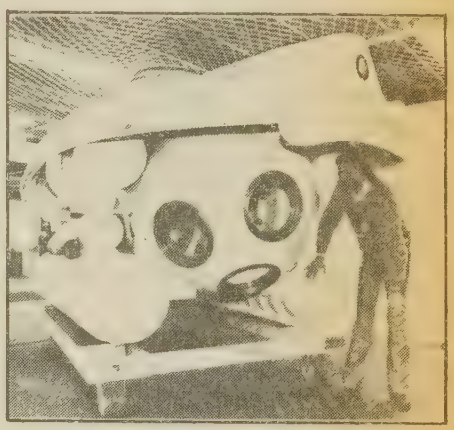
Hence the second point. Ola Virin says: "The strike weapon has become too potent and the only answer to it is a lockout, a major lockout to make the price of industrial action too stiff for the unions. Of course, all this causes hitches in the system with has come to be known as the 'Swedish model.' The fact is that the traditional trade unions are being supported more and more energetically by the unions of public employees, such as teachers, professors and medical and municipal workers. The situation cannot be allowed to continue."

Lockouts have indeed become mass-scale and immediately affect hundreds of thousands, who are considered to have been dismissed as from the first minute of the strike. "Cooperation between classes" envisaged by the "Swedish model" and held up as an example to be followed is actually class confrontation: strikers face the threat of dismissal and unemployment. Moreover, the government seems to act in a similar manner against the trade unions of public employees. And it is a Social Democratic government. One of its economic advisers said of a strike by health-care workers, which had lasted for several months:

"Let them strike themselves out of their jobs. We would like them to learn their lesson. The economic situation is in our favour after a sharp drop in oil prices. Our position is strong politically as well and it is still two years till the next election."

Per-Olof Edin repeated more than once that it was the duty of the unions to remember that pay rises should not outpace the growth of labour productivity. But then came the news that the government was seeking an official agreement between the proprietors and the unions to punish companies that paid wages above the national average, even if the growth of labour productivity in a given company or industry warranted such a rise.

The government is moving towards deregulation, that is, to slackening its control over industry, in the financial markets and labour relations. Recently all the controls on crediting and interest rates, which had been in effect throughout the postwar period, were lifted, auguring the outflow of Swedish capital abroad and higher unemployment. In the past the investment of foreign capital in Swedish companies was not the rule but the exception. Today the situation has changed and Swedish stock is now offered on foreign markets. Moreover, foreign banks have now been allowed to open offices in Sweden. About a dozen have already secured permission to do so, among them the U.S. Citibank and Manufactures Hanover Trust and several French ones. It is common knowledge that deregulation is essential to the penetration of a national economy by the "transnational element."



Hans Andersson, a building worker, is an inventor as well. His minisubmarine, which he offers for research purposes, can submerge to a depth of 200 metres and remain under water for eight hours.

The Underside of Affluence

Meanwhile, demands for higher pay are louder today than they have been for a long time. Though the workers secure concessions from their employers more or less regularly, their real incomes today are a mere 1.5 per cent higher than they were in 1975. Real wages continue to drop because of the constant rise in prices, taxes and rent. Direct tax alone claims at least 35 per cent, and rent 20 per cent of incomes, while indirect taxes account for over 23 per cent of consumer prices.

How does all this tally with the picture of Sweden as a country with some of the world's highest living

standards? It does not. What strikes the eye is the deference with which rare customers in the shops gaze at price tickets. You often see people deep in thought in front of the food counter, although they frequent the shop virtually every day. According to statistics, private consumption is growing agonizingly slowly, at a quarter of the rate of the other West European countries over the past ten years. Assets in savings banks have been shrinking too, and a term, unusual for Sweden—"the new poor"—has been coined: more than half a million Swedes, according to official statistics, are no longer capable of making ends meet and have to apply for welfare benefits. The government, meanwhile, seems to have exhausted its resources for expanding the social security funds, which are Sweden's pride.

There is general agreement that taxes—the main source of public revenue—have reached the limit. The attempts to make taxes "fairer" by introducing progressive taxation have provoked public outrage: such taxation puts the heaviest burden on the working people and amounts in practice to a covert tax rise.

The state debt has reached the astronomical figure of over 600 billion kronor, which makes Sweden all but the world's worst debtor. As recently as 1972, however, the state owed Swedish banks a mere 36 billion kronor and there was no foreign debt at all. Today Sweden owes foreign creditors four times as much as Brazil in per capita terms—and the latter is admittedly facing catastrophe. This against the background of a state budget plagued with deficits which have reached 13 per cent of the GNP, worse than in the United States, where the deficit is a grave threat to financial stability.

Growing indebtedness, shortage of capital and keener competition on foreign markets have prompted certain quarters to step up their attacks on the government's social policy. As the U.S. Time magazine observed, some Swedes "view Sweden's cradle-to-grave social-service system as a drain on their prosperity."

Hence growing social tensions. This year is a time of collective bargaining, and the sharp contradictions, which at other times can be papered over or left on one side, have come to a head. SKF employees have gone on strike for the first time in the almost 80-year history of the corporation. In late May 180,000 workers in the engineering industry were locked out and it was only the intervention of the government arbitration commission that averted a major collision. Unrest eventually spread to the steel and woodworking industries, public health and municipal workers went on strike and secondary and high-school students staged protests against the threat of lockouts against 30,000 teachers.

Difficult Choices

There is undoubtedly a relationship between the aggravation of domestic problems and the rise of reactionary, especially racist organizations. Racism always surfaces when times are hard, as is the case in both the U.S. and Western Europe, and Sweden is no exception.

"Man and Pegasus." This and other works by the noted Swedish sculptor Karl Milles are unusual in design and produce an unforgettable impression.

Photos by V. Blokhin and Pressens Bild—TASS

Immigrants, who began to come to the country when the demand for labour was especially high, are now the target of racist attacks. There is a relatively large immigrant community, about a million, and instances of discrimination on racist grounds in factories, offices, public places and when looking for lodgings are multiplying. There are frequent assaults on immigrants, and the letters BSS—the abbreviation of the name of the racist organization Keep Sweden Swedish—are often painted on buildings in Stockholm. The Skane Party, whose platform includes a number of patently racist stipulations, has won the elections to the local bodies of government in one district. There are well-grounded fears that racism is not only aimed at the immigrants but has some sinister ideological overtones as well.

All this shows that the Social Democratic government is facing difficult choices, some of them affecting seemingly inviolable, time-honoured institutions.

Public opinion polls show a marked growth in the popularity of the Social Democratic Labour Party, which currently enjoys the support of 48 per cent of the electorate, a 6 per cent rise over the figure for last March. Dissent among the major opposition parties, which are going through a sort of transition period, also plays into the hands of the Social Democrats. Following its defeat in last year's elections, the leader of the Centre Party left the political scene. The leader of the Moderate (Conservative) Party has now resigned as well. However, the Social Democrats have not had a majority in the Riksdag since 1982 and this is their second minority government. Local observers say that the "honeymoon" of the Carlsson government and the unions is over: industrial action keeps growing despite appeals for "restraint."

At the same time the People's Party continues to grow and has already overtaken its opposition partners, the Conservatives and the Centrists. That party is advocating a far greater emphasis on a Reagan-type market economy and lower taxes, which means in practice not only benefits to capital but also cuts in social programmes. It would like restrictions on the public sector and freer rein to private enterprise in such a crucial area as health care. At the same time the People's Party wants higher military spending and is pushing the country towards NATO.

The Swedes are undoubtedly loyal to tradition, but history and tradition do not seem to be adequate defences against the onslaught of today's realities. Change in production and social life is fraught with dark uncertainties—but they are also integral to the traditions of the social system to which Sweden belongs.

Stockholm—Moscow

TAKING UP A POINT

I fully share Alexander Bovin's view, recently expressed in the columns of your journal, that our defences possess the necessary "reserve of strength" to enable us unilaterally to suspend the testing of nuclear devices for some time. Yet, I seriously doubt whether our example will be "infectious" enough for the U.S. to follow suit. Judging by all the signs, there is no hope that it will refrain from further nuclear tests. But what is behind its intransigence? What does it need these tests for? Will there be another Gorbachev-Reagan meeting? And will it serve any useful purpose?

YURI NESTERENKO
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

VADIM NEKRASOV, news analyst for the journal Kommunist, replies:

Indeed, there are very serious grounds for the doubts expressed by our correspondent. Let us not mince words about it, the present situation does not give much cause for optimism. Our bold and consistent policy aimed at the total abolition of nuclear weapons and at averting a nuclear apocalypse has so far failed to "infect" the U.S., and I am not sure that this is going to happen in the near future. As before, Washington's foreign policy is dictated not by common sense or the instinct of self-preservation, but, to put it mildly, by its illusions about its own standing, infallibility and technological superiority—and, hence, by the belief that it can afford to do anything in politics and chart the course of history at its own discretion.

It will be guided exclusively by its own imperial considerations and go on striving for military superiority, continuing the arms buildup and seeking to carry it over into outer space, perfecting mass annilihation weapons, counting on settling international disputes from positions of strength, blackmail and diktat. To my mind, such a strategic concept is utterly groundless. It is evidence not of political wisdom, but of fear of honest competition with another social system.

What, it is asked, does the U.S. need these tests for? The answer is: to further aggravate the threat to our security, the security of our friends and allies and, in general, the security of all those who refuse to march to the beat of its drum. This additional threat will inevitably turn against the U.S. itself, for action stimulates, indeed necessitates, counteraction. In taking a diametrically opposed position and running a certain risk, do we not, one might ask, show concern for the security of imperialism, too? Yes, we do. And it's a very good thing that we do. The wisdom of Soviet foreign policy and indeed of our defence strategy lies in our refusal to contemplate, even for a moment, the possibility of winning a military victory over a world outlook and system of values alien and unacceptable to us. In the nuclear age, the formula "who beats whom" is dead. In the nuclear age no one beats anyone. History must determine who will prevail.

This attitude is rejected by the U.S. or, to be more exact, it is rejected by the policy-making militarist group, the powerful military-industrial complex. It has indeed, as Mikhail Gorbachev accurately put it, "gone mad on the arms race."

As to the question of whether there will be a new Soviet-American summit and what it will achieve if it does take place, Mikhail Gorbachev has dealt with this exhaustively in his replies to questions put by Zdenek Horeni, editor of the Czechoslovak newspaper Rude Pravo. "We are for a Soviet-American summit meeting, for a meeting that would be marked by significant progress towards solving at least one or two important problems of international security," the CPSU General Secretary said. But he emphasized: "If one proceeds from the premise that the moratorium is unacceptable, if the question of medium-range missiles in Europe is blocked, if strategic armaments have to be perfected, etc., then what is there to talk about? In the atmosphere of a feverish arms race, of stepping up tension, and going back on existing treaties, a summit meeting will hardly be useful. On the other hand, it will be the easiest thing in the world to use it to deceive people, to mollify the public by creating the illusion that all is well, while at the same time continuing to pursue a dangerous policy." Here, naturally, we cannot be of help to Washington.

The end of the year is not far off. During the remaining time—as it were, a period of privilege granted to the policy makers in Washington—our diplomacy will not be idle. Soviet-U.S. negotiations, involving highly competent experts, are in progress and will continue.

Later this month Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze is to confer with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. This will be a very important meeting. An exchange of views at such a level is bound to clear up many issues. Above all to see where we stand at present, whether there is any chance of the Soviet-American dialogue making headway.

In short, the work to be done can only be coped with given the highest sense of responsibility. The world knows: the Soviet Union's foreign policy activities—purposeful, vigorous and versatile—are all motivated by this sense of responsibility. Unfortunately, this cannot be said of Washington's foreign policy. My American colleagues, D. Hoffman of the Washington Post for instance, are at best in a position to state that internal discussions are under way on modifying the U.S. negotiating position with a view to lessening the differences between the superpowers, discussions which are still of a "philosophical" character. Philosophizing is a good thing, of course, but only up to a point. Time does not stand still.

■

Washington refuses to stop nuclear testing.... Washington is preparing a provocation against Nicaragua.... Washington is offering the world "star wars" weapons. By whom, how and in whose interests this policy is determined is dealt with in a recently published collection of writings by U.S. political scientists, historians and journalists.

Touches to a Profile

The novice is placed in a coffin and carried to the central part of the building. Here something like psalms are sung over him, after which he is "born" into society. He is removed from the coffin, given clothing covered with symbolic designs. A bone with his name on it is thrown onto a heap of other bones. The novice is then thrown naked into a pile of dirt. That ends the initiation ceremony.

Thus, according to Ron Rosenbaum, Esquire magazine commentator, began the careers of many Establishment "stars" in the eastern states who have prospered in business or foreign policy. The place where the initiation takes place is known as the Tomb. This is the citadel of the Skull and Crossbones, the most powerful secret society the prestigious Yale University has ever had. Among those who went through that ceremony in their time, reliable sources say, are Averell Harriman, McGeorge Bundy (National Security Assistant under President Kennedy), Henry Luce, the newspaper magnate, and George Bush, onetime CIA director and now vice-president. For nearly a century and a half the fraternity preserved its secrets intact. All that is known is that it has colossal funds at its disposal and places its people in key positions.

Such is one of the many New World mysteries revealed in the collection under review. It adds another touch to the political picture of the United States.

There is nothing mysterious about the "cowboys of the sun belt," as Professor Thomas Dye calls the nouveaux riches of the South and West of the United States. They have no scruples about boasting of their newly-acquired wealth and openly lusting for power, seeking to dislodge from Olympus the aristocratic Yankee families of the eastern states. However, the rivalry between the Yankees and the cowboys fits perfectly into the American scheme of things. Both worship the same deity—the almighty Dollar. Both are ready to do anything for the prosperity of the propertied. Speaking of the top men of the Reagan Administration, the American journalist Ralph Nader said that some 30 of them are millionaires, many are multimillionaires who regard the federal government as the tool of the strong and the rich and not accountable to the people. This, Nader writes, is a government of a narrow circle of men practically bereft of any feeling of compassion.

The present American leaders have no use for compassion. When newsmen asked the president one bitterly cold day in 1984 why people were sleeping on ventilation grills and dying from the cold (there are about three million homeless in the U.S.) he said they wanted to be homeless.

Such disregard for the fate of their compatriots is demonstrated by an Administration that is forever invoking Christian morality. The influence of religion on politics is the subject of a special section of the book.

The Washington of the 1980s sings the praises of such "heroes" of the McCarthy era as W. Chambers, the man who gave false evidence at an anti-communist trial. Today's White House incumbent posthumously awarded him the Medal of Freedom. What appeals most to the president about this FBI informer is explained by an episode that figures in a book by Chambers. This "hero" decided to buy a gun. The salesman, he writes, was a southerner and like some other southerners he was charmingly casual about firearms. He told Chambers he had bought just the right thing. All he had to do was to take aim, press the trigger and say goodbye. Chambers said he sometimes remembered that salesman and thought that so long as there were so many unspoiled souls in the U.S. the battle was not yet lost.

The part of the collection dealing with the shaping of U.S. foreign policy confirms that there are plenty of such "unspoiled souls" in Washington's corridors of power. The question is whither they would lead America, and indeed the whole world.

G. SIDOROVA

Road to Nowhere. Gleanings from the U.S. press. Edited by M. Chernousov and N. Yakovlev. Moscow Political Literature Publishers. 1986.

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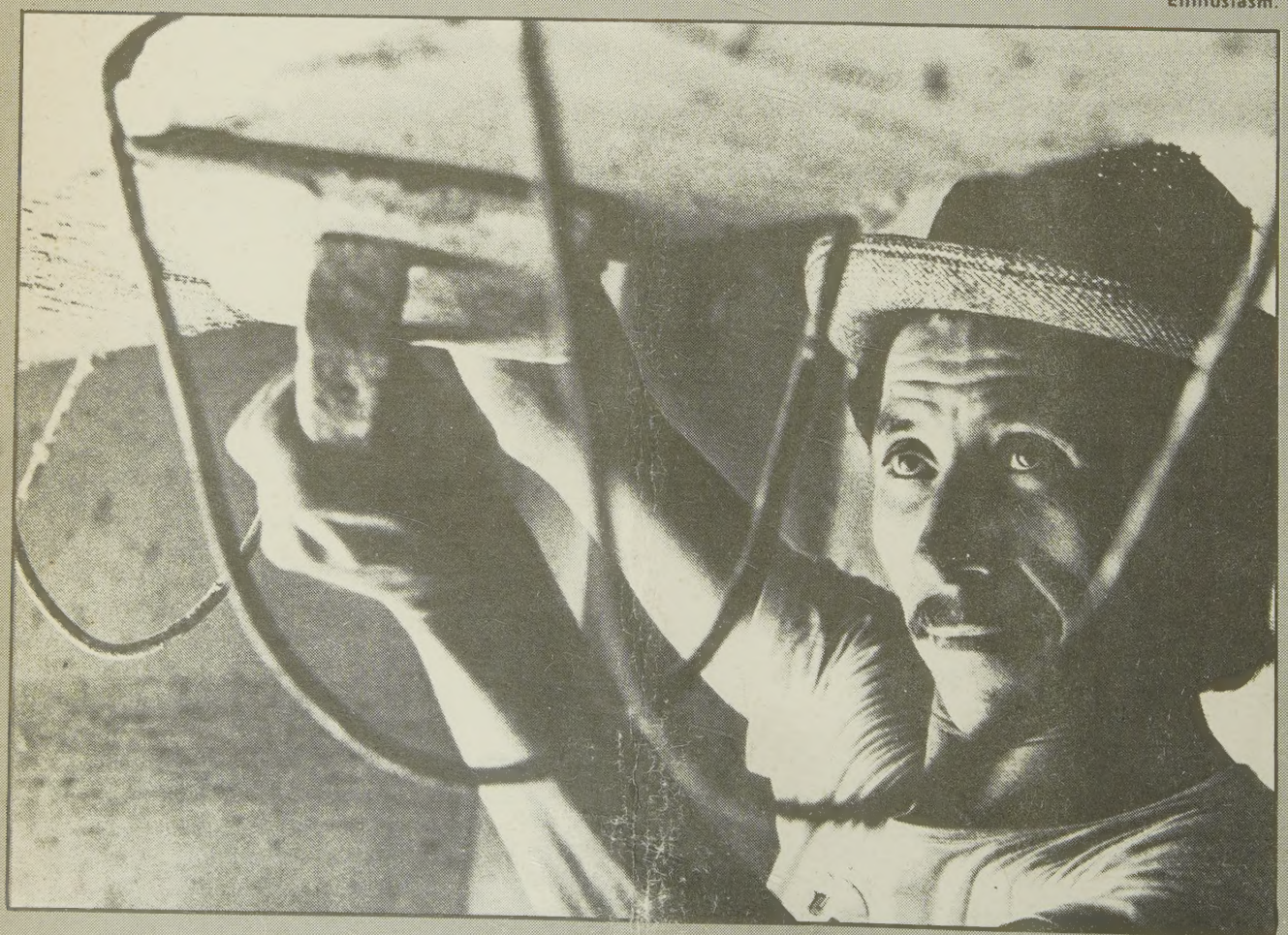

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